NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Time for Concerted Action

IS YOUR community coming apart at the seams? Do you wonder how it is going to whip such complex problems as juvenile delinquency, housing, community planning, the financing of needed public works and higher personnel costs, pollution of air or water, planning for continuous prosperity and full employment? Are these and other problems complicated by a multiplicity of governmental units in an area which is naturally a single community, by a plethora of special purpose organizations each promoting specific objectives and by the lack of one over-all agency through which all citizens can work together for the welfare and future of the community as a whole?

Then your community is like thousands of others in the United States in 1947.

Is there an answer? There is—at least the beginning of an answer. It has been tested, off and on, for a generation or more in many communities. It has usually been known as the citizens council, sometimes community council.

In essence the citizens council plan is simple. It begins by bringing together the persons who can enlist the cooperation of all whose help and understanding are needed for the solution of the problems at hand. It should therefore be composed of the natural leaders or spokemen of a fair cross-section of the community. It should include among others persons who are virtually representative of civic, economic, educational, religious and other organized groups. But no member should be bound to speak and act merely as a delegate. This is important because first and foremost the council should be a thinking machine, a community brain able to develop a higher understanding of community problems than that likely to be attained by any less comprehensive organization. Common understanding is not a mathematical combination of the pre-existing understandings of separate groups and individuals. It is a new creation possible only through uninhibited thinking and discussion led by the most competent and trusted members of the community. So far as possible rank-and-file contribution to this thinking should be obtained through informed discussion in community and neighborhood forums, through the newspapers, on the radio.

Ordinarily the council does not engaged in field operations; that is, it does not itself undertake to plan the city, clear the air of smoke, operate recreation centers, or even conduct extensive research. When it discovers that any of these things needs to be done, it stimulates and, if necessary, helps existing agencies to do it. One important result is a saving of some of the civic energy that is wasted in most communities because a variety of groups plan and conduct their programs without

adequate information and largely without reference to one another or to any carefully considered schedule of priorities. By bringing together the people who determine these programs the council strengthens older organizations and enables them to concentrate their forces so as to get maximum results for their efforts.

Citizens councils have played important parts in several national emergencies. During the depression many communities saved themselves from civic bankruptcy and breakdown of essential services through the operation of citizens councils, stimulated and guided by the National Municipal League, which served at the request of 57 national organizations as the National Federation of Citizens Councils.

The recent war afforded the most spectacular test of the citizens council technique in the local voluntary effort through which communities met problems arising from the war and played their part in the war itself. As an official publication pointed out: "We have proved again, as we did in 1918, that public and private agencies, labor and management, paid workers and volunteers can work together to solve any problem on the home front."

The problem is to transform the occasional emergency display of community cooperation into a permanent part of our democratic routine. It is true that most communities have what amounts to a citizens council on education in the P.T.A., a citizens council on welfare in a welfare federation, a council of citizens on business and industry in the Chamber of Commerce. These are all to the good, but their efforts do not necessarily result in balanced attention to all important community affairs. In time of crisis their efforts may even become competitive and mutually self-defeating. Then, if the crisis is compelling enough, they get together.

Actually, democracy is always in crisis, always in peril. It always needs to concentrate its best talents on the business of making it work, which is simply the business of making free communities so good that no one will be much attracted to somebody else's utopia.

It is relatively easy to work together for victory in war. War, in effect, compels cooperation. The need is as great in time of peace but it takes more imagination to see it and more maturity and self-discipline to merge minor differences.

One of the signs that our democracy may be coming of age is the number of communities that are consciously applying in peace lessons and discipline learned during the war. This accounts for many phases of the current civic revival including the reorganization of inefficient local governments, renewed interest in metropolitan coordination and growth in voluntary citizens organizations.

Every American who helped the war effort is needed somewhere in the organized effort for effective peace-time democracy. In most communities an over-all citizens council is needed to plan the operation and help every citizen find his most useful role. J.E.B.

Local Press as Civic Force

Most valuable contribution a newspaper can make to decent government is day-to-day getting of the story and telling it.

By OXIE REICHLER*

HELPFUL work by a local newspaper can encourage and expedite what Dr. C. A. Dykstra used to call "the golden rule of clean government."

Of course, one must accept two premises: First, that the local press can be influential and, second, that it is possible to awaken the millions of men and women whose civic habits are such that they are virtually walking in their sleep.

Some people still insist upon arguing that the local newspaper long since has lost its prestige and they prophesy its early doom. That has been a pastime for generations.

Just before his death H. G. Wells told a scientific meeting in London that he had "a profound conviction that the newspaper is dead as mutton and that it will never come back." It should not be necessary to say he was grossly mistaken. In fact, Mr. Wells himself can be quoted—at a time when he was not quite so old—to the effect that "the Roman Empire fell because there was no newspaper to apprise the people in the outlying territories of what was going on at the center."

If we agree that the local newspaper has influence and prestige, we can go forward to the second point—that it is possible to jolt the citizenry into a lively interest in the government of their home community.

Here is a less promising picture. A fellow-citizen of mine was asked, "What do you think of our city government?" His reply was, "I try not to!"

It has been a continuing effort of the *Herald Statesman*, of Yonkers, New York, to change that viewpoint. The *Herald Statesman* tries to make Yonkers a place where men and women no longer exclaim, "Why don't they do something about it!" They ask, "Why don't I do something about it?"

Young men and women have come home from the war determined to have a better community, and to do something personally to that end. The local newspaper can help them. Does it? Will it? An honest-to-goodness civic organization can assist them even more. Is there one? Does it care?

While war raged, people found they could not do without the local paper. They had to have it—for information about selective service, for civilian defense, for rationing, for news from the fronts about their loved ones and their friends, for all those cooperative community endeavors like Red Cross and salvage.

Readers have come to appreciate their local newspaper in a way they may not have done before, and both

*Mr. Reichler is editor of the Yonkers, New York, *Herald Statesman*, which has performed for its city the effective civic service of which he writes. This article is Mr. Reichler's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Philadelphia.

editors and readers will probably be groping for more inviting and more satisfying and community-building paths to travel than the highways of sex and crime.

The civic story should entice both editors and readers. It has been too long neglected, with incalculable damage to many localities—damage that will continue for generations.

The time is here when the local newspaper must make special effort to tell its readers every day what is going on in City Hall, what is going on in political party headquarters.

A Community Conscience

The local newspaper may be proud indeed if and when it is recognized as the community's civic conscience.

It may be prouder if it encourages at least a dozen or two dozen citizens to give of themselves in the public behalf that they too become acknowledged and accepted as "civic consciences," willing to speak out courageously against evil, to fight the worst the politicians can offer, to band together for the cause of decency and justice, and to demonstrate that in their community it is no longer true that "everybody's business is nobody's business."

Politics too often has been a special possession of party machines. From the pages of the local newspaper politics can spring forth into the hands and into the minds of men and women, of boys and girls, to become a living and intimate thing. Teachers can thus become informed. Schools can begin to teach politics, instead of what is now called civics.

It is hardly a new idea. Aristotle was talking about it three hundred years Before Christ. Aristotle said: "All who have meditated upon the art of government have been convinced that the fate of empires depends upon the education of youth."

The newspaper can provide this information better even than the teacher in school, better than the political club. It can tell and keep retelling how political party controls are set up, how the district leader and the ward leader are chosen, and what powers they have. Our students may get to know the names of these behind-the-scenes functionaries in all parties and become familiar with their importance in local government. They may be led to discover and understand the roots of politics in their own block.

If our young people have access to this information, they are sure to tell Pop and Mom. In that way a social conscience is born—in the individual and in the family.

In that way it would no longer be fashionable or proper to ask an average citizen, "Why does a nice person like you want to get mixed up in dirty politics?" Because, obviously, if more "nice people" were mixed up in politics, politics would not be dirty!

The local newspaper best serves its community if it assumes the role each day of telling readers simply and clearly what is happening in the government and in political life, confident that if citizens learn a lot about their own problems at home they will be better versed in fundamental democracy and better able to appreciate the rights and wrongs of government in the county, state, nation and world.

What implements are needed for such a journalistic service? Primarily, the need is for competent men and women assigned to city hall—reporters at least as alert and qualified to write informatively and entertainingly as are those assigned to sports and police.

Their task should be to keep the spotlight on public officials and public acts in such a way that all are interestingly described and that corruption and inefficiency are adequately uncovered.

Letters to the Editor

Such reporting should be sufficiently stimulating to readers that they follow through by writing to the editor, for publication, letters freighted with recommendations that might be helpful to officials. The *Herald Statesman* is proud of the hundreds of letters from readers, all published with full name and address of the writer and carefully checked as to authorship.

Objective reporting of the civic scene is important but impartiality is not enough. The local newspaper ought to take sides whenever the situation requires.

Not only must a newspaper side with what it regards as right but it must do so vigorously. I remember the utter amazement with which I discovered how a large city, rocking with judicial scandals, was getting no editorial guidance from any of its local newspapers—the editors had agreed among themselves to refrain from such discussion of that subject!

Besides news and editorials, the local newspaper can be effective as a civic force in a great variety of ways.

Prior to election day most editors were prodding their readers to register and vote. But the Rutland, Vermont, *Herald* for years has been awarding silver loving cups to the towns that make the best showing in percentage of eligible voters who cast their ballots.

Many a local newspaper can adapt at home the ambitious techniques of such a forum as the New York *Herald-Tribune* sponsors annually. At our paper's suggestion the Young Men's Chamber of Commerce in Yonkers sponsored a School for Civic Service. This was a series of lectures by the principal local government officials on the city and its operation. The project won state and national acclaim and the civic school is being reproduced in many American cities.

Yonkers is a community of nearly 150,000 people, lying directly to the north of New York City along the Hudson. Its citizens live in comparative luxury and afford luxurious public services. For instance, it is one of the few larger communities where the city goes into the cellar to collect ashes and garbage, neatly but expensively returning the receptacles to the basement.

Over a dozen years ago, when matters went from bad to worse, it was evident many things needed changing. Public debts were soaring astronomically; city employees were suffering deep pay cuts and then went unpaid for months. Schools had to shut down awhile. The relief burden was crushing. Taxes were among the highest in the nation. Merchants were not being paid for the goods they sold the city.

Much of the governing was accomplished in executive session with the press barred. Scandal followed scandal in wasteful purchasing and political deals.

Rarely if ever has local government been so much reported in a local newspaper as the *Herald Statesman* provided during those years. It was by no means unusual to carry eighteen or twenty thousand words in a report of a common council session—fairly brief news stories, breezy items that rated the position some of them got on page one, and good single and double-column heads inside the paper.

Whatever else might have been said of the report, there was no doubt that all interested people had information about their government available. There was ample evidence that the reports were carefully read. Many good citizens compiled scrap books that later became weapons against malefactors.

When it was found few persons knew just how many people worked for the city and who they were, the paper compiled a master city payroll and published it, fully alphabetized, in 75 daily installments. When good government finally was achieved, this list of about 3,500 public employees was pared by about 1,000.

By day-to-day publication sufficient information was provided on which to base reforms in purchasing, in pensions and in the civil service practice.

At one time the *Herald Statesman* published every day an itemized list of all city purchases. It caused an uproar that echoed in grand jury rooms.

For many years it has been publishing a daily financial statement of the city, and we know how carefully it is perused by the inquiries received when it is omitted.

For years the paper carried on an editorial campaign against closed sessions. At last the common council yielded, admitting our reporter to its committee of the whole—and we have been reporting those sessions ever since.

Only a short time ago the Board of Education, which had done most of its business behind locked doors, swung them open at the editorial demand of the newspaper, which now reports all its sessions too. In this field vast improvement is possible—under prodding from the local newspaper—in hundreds of American communities where the principal public business is hidden from the gaze of the people who foot the bills.

Manager–P. R. Charter

Inevitably a struggle developed for a form of government in Yonkers that might make for more efficiency and promote honest dealing. In 1938, after several previous rejections, the city adopted a council-manager charter and also the proportional representation method of electing the common council—the method used in New York City, Cincinnati, Toledo and some other municipalities.

The charter alone could not afford the relief we craved. We had to learn how to nominate and elect men and women of highest qualification and of absolute integrity. Not

till November 1945 did the citizens truly make the grade with a full majority of such people. The result was that the clutch of the political machine finally was broken, and the city has had over a year of reasonably good and independent municipal operation. All pay cuts have been restored for city employees; many have had their first raises in a generation. The public debt has been reduced nearly 50 per cent.

The local newspaper can serve the people well in explaining so complex a thing as a new charter with features as unfamiliar as proportional representation.

This was done by printing simple questions and answers in large, readable type. These daily installments were received so hungrily that we found not only an upsurge in public knowledge but also in our newspaper circulation. When that series was concluded, the questions and answers were reprinted in tabloid form and 25,000 copies were distributed to the schools. These are still being used as civics textbooks.

The printed financial report of the last administration under the mayor-aldermen form listed in bold type that the year had ended with a net actual deficit of $275,000. But one of the *Herald Statesman* reporters—a shrewd and observing young man with a mathematical mind—recomputed the figures in the book and showed that the net actual deficit for that year was not $275,000 but nearly five million dollars. That was the initial disclosure of such an ominous fact.

Then the reporter found that a million and a half dollars in merchants' claims had been left unpaid although the money had been raised. There was more of the same. All that money has since been repaid.

The ways in which the local newspaper can serve as alarm clock, as town crier, as public adviser, are still far from explored. They are so varied that almost any local newspaper can decide to find new forms of service and find them easily.

'Forums in Print'

For instance, there was a time when officials clamped down on press participation in framing the city's annual budget. Our paper decided readers were entitled to discuss the budget despite official secrecy and undertook a "Public Budget Forum in Print." It was successful.

When there was too much hush-hush about transit reform, the paper sponsored a "Public Transit Forum in Print," which worked out so well it won compliments even from the head of a traction corporation with which the paper had been obliged to fight (expensively) in the courts.

When it was suspected that too many taxpayers were being given unwarranted reductions in their assessed valuations, the paper printed long lists every day showing every protesting taxpayer and how he fared before the review board.

When it was found that defaulting taxpayers were "getting away with murder"—that they were letting their tax bills lapse year after year and then found it easy to settle up for a pittance, while all the rest of the prompt-paying taxpayers footed their own bills and those of the de-

(Continued on page 236)

Civic Education via the Radio

Forums, news coverage and documentary programs among techniques which help to strengthen democracy on the air.

By ROBERT B. HUDSON*

NOT SO many months ago in upper New York State there occurred a most unusual phenomenon. A city was called upon to account for its collective stewardship not to some outside authority but to its own citizens. The city government of Syracuse and its several branches charged with the performance of municipal services, together with responsible citizen groups concerned semi-officially with the well-being of the city, suddenly found themselves arraigned before the bar of public opinion. Syracuse was indeed on trial!

But this was no spotlight powered by the traditional reform movement designed to "throw the rascals out." So far as this trial was concerned Syracuse had no rascals. This was a positive approach to local government: what are our current practices; what are our immediate and long range plans? This was a constructive, practical exercise in civic education by radio.

Visualize, if you will, the studio picture: a judge on a raised dais, the witness chair just below and to his right, a counsel table in front for opposing attorneys, the jury on the judge's left, and a studio audience numbering 50 to 75 persons. That was the picture in the Radio Workshop of Syracuse University for "Syracuse on Trial," a program broadcast by station WFBL.

The results were excellent, the program had a top rating in terms of audience in the city of Syracuse. During the seventeen weeks it was on the air, it used five mayors, sixteen judges, five manufacturers, two bankers, two architects, four farmers, one councilman, two engineers, three clergymen, two United States Army officials, thirty-four lawyers, two realtors, three commissioners, two planners, six retail merchants, two supervisors and three educators. In all, over four hundred individuals including the jury actively participated. The citizen of Syracuse was at once defendant, prosecutor and judge.

Municipal practices put on trial included postwar aviation plans, the city's park system, housing, taxes, the educational system, sanitation, agricultural center, recreational facilities for teen-age groups, etc.

The story of "Syracuse on Trial" is only one of the many which illustrate the distinctive way in which radio broadcasting can implement broad programs of civic education. Before citing these examples of radio projects in civic education, let us examine briefly the media of mass communication and their relationship to government in a democracy.

*Mr. Hudson is director of education of the Columbia Broadcasting Company. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Philadelphia.

The Greeks may not have had a word for this, but they did have an effective group of words for getting their idea of democracy across. The Greeks said that "a democracy is effective only as far as a man's voice can be heard." They practiced democracy that way, at least the free half of the population did, and so long as the citizen's voice could be heard, their city-states flourished.

But the city-state was so constituted as to render its development into a large state or nation difficult. Even Rome did not fully succeed in adapting her municipal institutions to the administration of an empire. The Greek cities sought to solve the problem by confederation. The reason for their failure is well illustrated by the case of the Bocotian cities, which in trying to extend the institutions of direct democracy outside the city-state rendered the central authority almost powerless. We would observe today that their lines of democratic communication were over-extended.

The great Roman Empire also suffered for lack of adequate communications. Transplanted Roman-style democracy throughout the known world withered and died on the vine, and even at home the citizen's voice was too faint to prevent corruption and graft and a general prostitution of civic virtue.

If he had had ingenuity enough to invent the printing press or could have speeded up the arrival of Marconi by nineteen centuries, the good citizen might have rallied the Romans and "thrown the rascals out." He might have created enough unity among ordinary men to forestall the war lords. But without these media at his disposal there was little that the Roman citizen could do in making democracy work for a far-flung empire.

Not until the time of Oliver Cromwell did we have a demonstration of effective democracy extending beyond the boundaries of a city-state—beyond the carrying range of a citizen's voice. But this did not happen until after the invention of the printing press. Print made it possible for a man to be an active, participating citizen of a large state.

Mass Communication Aids

The point is simply this: democracy on the scale which we practice it is impossible without the mass media of communication—in print, radio and film. The role of newspapers and magazines in reporting and reflecting the will of the people throughout the history of this republic is too extensive and too well known to recount here; the effectiveness of radio in communicating ideas, news and opinion instantly and reliably is commonplace knowledge; and the importance of films in shaping attitudes and behavior patterns can hardly be overestimated.

These three media of mass communication along with modern transportation make possible such democracy as we have in America. Together they are responsible for the term, "the shrinking globe"; without them the "one world" concept is unthinkable.

This briefly argued thesis, that the mass media of communication

make democracy possible in large geographic areas, does not in any sense preclude their usefulness in small unit democracy. Indeed quite the opposite is true: these media are never more effective than when skillfully exploited locally.

This is said in full recognition of the trend toward centralization in print, radio and film. Hollywood and films may be an exception, but certainly there are many instances where newspapers and radio stations are turning in a skillful local level job; and wherever it is effective emphasis is on the word *skillful*.

Communities Lag

It may be, of course, that local governmental units have not kept pace with mass communications. Maybe local government outside the major cities is still in the horse-and-buggy days! An old uncle of mine down in the mountains of Virginia once explained to me how Virginia counties were laid out. He said that county boundaries were drawn so that at no point in the county would you be more than twelve and a half miles from the county seat. Thus a man could ride a horse to the county seat, transact his business and return home the same day. That horseback standard ignores advances in communications and transportation, and we are deluding ourselves when we assume that democracy is being served by the mere retention of outmoded institutions.

Radio does not observe state lines much less municipal boundaries, and it is this characteristic which tends to baffle local government people and local station people alike in planning municipal programs. There is no easy solution to the problem; however, station managers in sizable cities would seldom turn down a skillfully prepared local government program where the objective was civic education. Programs treating problems of satellite towns and counties would have to be broad enough to permit general application.

It is just possible, too, that horseback standards are being applied functionally as well as geographically in some local governmental institutions. In such instances the spotlight of public attention is shunned like the plague. These instances are balanced by the many progressive local governments which are making intelligent use of the mass media of communications to keep their citizens informed of practices and needs.

This is good civic education. But most civic education appears to be effected by non-officials—by citizens' groups. "Syracuse on Trial" was the product of Syracuse University, the Bar Association, Station WFBL, and other groups. Down in Cincinnati, station WCPO and the Hamilton County Good Government League combined to produce a town meeting type show on civic issues.

Out in the San Luis and San Juan Valleys in Colorado the Extension Division of the University of Colorado and the Rocky Mountain Radio Council produced and broadcast a series of programs on state problems, including tax policy, pensions, grazing laws, etc. Listening groups were organized in more than

a score of centers in those valleys and following each broadcast the problem was discussed at the grass roots level.

Also in the Rocky Mountain area the principal educational institutions and agencies in Colorado and Wyoming pooled their resources for education by radio in the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. This organization is staffed by professional radio people, thus bringing to local educational broadcasting in general and local civic educational broadcasting in particular the skills requisite to effective radio programming. This council has developed many series of programs which contribute directly to local civic education.

Radio in Local Activity

Recently in Augusta, Georgia, the press, radio and films all contributed to the successful foray of Colonel Effingham's raiders[1]. Out in St. Joseph, Missouri, the radio helped the Citizens' Good Government Association to get out the vote. The several Citizens Conferences on Government Management convened in Estes Park, Colorado, were reported fully by radio to the citizens of the region.

In Philadelphia Station WCAU is in the middle of an aggressive program of civic education. Only last summer it informed its citizens about the sorry status of their water supply so effectively that corrective measures have been taken. This station has now accepted the challenge of George Sessions Perry, who wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post* that "Philadelphia wears a cutaway coat and dirty underwear," to do a series of major dramatic programs reporting to Philadelphians the conditions which exist. Station WCAU has the full support of many business organizations and civic groups.

Up in Boston Station WEEI on its own initiative developed a weekly labor-management forum, a program in which representatives of both labor and management sit down together and discuss their problems with the people of New England. This kind of civic education for the people, and incidentally for the participants, may be a factor of some importance in the generally amicable labor relationships which have existed in that area during this critical year.

An outstanding project in civic education by radio was carried in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Station WTAG. The story of "Worcester and the World" is well known to many people. Local radio is at its best in promoting this sort of civic education project where it enlists the cooperation of all the principal business enterprises and citizen groups in the community.

"Youth Takes a Stand," a program on Station WTOP, Washington, D. C., brings the youth in Washington to the microphones to express their views on many municipal and national issues, including the issue of right of franchise for Washingtonians.

Out in St. Louis, Missouri, Station KMOX broadcasts on Sunday evenings a program called "St. Louis

[1]See "Colonel Effington Whips Machine," the REVIEW, June 1946, page 310.

Speaks." This program, supported by St. Louis civic leaders, sheds light on municipal and state issues. Only recently the National School Broadcast Conference, meeting in Chicago, gave its annual award for a station-built educational program to Station KIZ in Denver for its dramatic civic education program "Traffiquiz," developed in cooperation with the Denver schools and the Denver police department.

These are but a few examples of the hundreds of good civic educational programs now on the air on most of the thousand radio stations in the United States.

Radio and Public Relations

Municipal officials and municipal governments per se have seldom availed themselves of radio as an instrument of civic education except at the behest of a radio station or of some citizens group in the community. This reluctance on the part of municipalities to tell their story on the air may stem from a lack of knowledge of radio program techniques or some unfortunate experience with an occasional straight talk which turned out to be factual but not arresting.

The progressive municipal government should study its public relations problems as carefully as it studies its sanitation problems. The term public relations is used here in the broad sense of civic education, of keeping citizens informed about municipal affairs. Municipal governments have access to microphones all over America and they encounter enthusiastic cooperation in most radio stations.

It behooves municipal authorities to awake to the potentialities of radio as an instrument of civic education and to train personnel to use the medium effectively. The acquisition of necessary radio skills may be a project in which the National Municipal League can assume leadership.

While the public affairs programs broadcast by the four coast-to-coast networks obviously cannot deal with local municipal problems they can and do deal with regional, national and international problems which inexorably affect municipalities.

But in the broader area of civic education, network broadcasting has achieved real stature. More than a score of CBS programs bring each week to the people of this country a cross-section of the best thinking on all aspects of public affairs. Six forum programs each week, plus world-wide news coverage, plus effective documentary programming of crucial issues, only hint at the extent of this civic educational service. The very considerable work which CBS has done in this field during the last twenty years is being amplified many times over. It is its belief that civic education is the most crucial task facing America today, and it dedicates its facilities willingly to the end that democracy's voice may be heard throughout the land.

What Is There to Coordinate?

The people of Henry County, Indiana, demonstrate healthy reluctance to stay with tradition when it ceases to work.

By CLIFFORD F. PAYNE*

THE Henry County Council on Intergovernment Relations was formally launched on June 1, 1944, with its expenses guaranteed for three years by the Spelman Fund. The county was one of three in the country, a fourth and fifth have since been added, selected to utilize local talent to study ways and means of not only preserving but strengthening local government and stemming the trend toward greater centralization, particularly at the national level.

The council was made up of a present and past state legislator, two bankers—one has a background of twelve years as collector of taxes in Indiana, the other was a town school board member for twelve years, the Democratic and Republican county chairmen—both attorneys, a township trustee who was president of the County Board of Education, one county official, the county judge and two merchants, one of whom is chairman of the County Veterans Advisory Committee and the other a member of the County Memorial Park Board. All these men were chosen to represent the interests of the 40,000 people of Henry County and in a larger sense the people of all 3,050 counties of the United States.

The council was given free hand in its studies but was assured by the committee at the national level, headed by the late Harold D. Smith, director of the Bureau of the Budget, that it would be given complete cooperation by any federal agency if its plans called for any revision on a test basis of the normal functions of such agency in the county.

To assure the same cooperation at the state level, Governor Gates named the Indiana Commission on Interstate Cooperation, which is composed of state representatives, senators and executive officials including the governor himself. But in spite of the imposing array of governmental talent on the national and state committees, the actual task of making the study, and the translation of the study into action, was left entirely to the Henry County committee.

The council discovered that it had to back up before it could start forward. It had to allay local suspicion regarding its motives. It had to show the homefolks that it had nothing to sell, was not a self-perpetuating bureau, was not a governmental agency, was not a politically-sponsored group.

The next big step was a fact-finding and attitude-analyzing expedition.

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At the outset there was a tendency both within the council and throughout the community to lay all blame for real or fancied governmental ills at the door of the federal government. As the study proceeded there emerged a realization that it wasn't quite that simple—that we have an amazingly confusing governmental machine which might have been the joint creation of scores of Rube Goldbergs. It has scads of independently operating engines, some pulling opposite, others manned but hardly operating, still others operating entirely outside the main machine.

What's Wrong with the County

The council found:

1. That group demand for special services is the chief cause of complex government, though people identified with the groups fail to think of themselves as sponsors of the complexity;

2. That 327 governmental units serve Henry County—110 local, 111 state, 106 federal, with little planned coordination;

3. In Indiana there are 92 counties, 1,013 townships, 1,013 school townships, 102 civil cities, 178 school cities and towns, 433 towns; a total of 2,831 not including many other units such as library, drainage, sanitation, aviation, etc.;

4. That there is a correlation between centralized control of business and centralized government;

5. That much of the "home rule" talk is just talk;

6. That frustration in an attempt to understand our changing social and economic structure is at the root of most complaints;

7. That local governments have lost prestige because they fail to work as a team, partly because officials fail to realize they were elected to improve government rather than to maintain the status quo. Besides jealousy of their jobs and prerogatives by local officials, another reason for failure to develop local government teamwork is group interest which "fences off" activities;

8. That local government is financially embarrassed, attempting to operate on the outmoded, unfair, inadequate property tax;

9. That there is no over-all check on what services the public gets, how well they are performed, whether they are actually needed, or whether they could be adjusted to fit the local situation;

10. That active citizen interest in governmental affairs does exist but it finds no focal point for effective expression in even such a seemingly homogeneous area as Henry County;

11. That many advisory and technical services are available to local government from federal and state agencies that are not used;

12. That local, state and federal efforts overlap; furthermore there is overlapping inside each of them;

13. That the chief points of intergovernmental friction are: excessive regulations and red tape, insistence upon uniformity when flexibility to fit local needs is desirable, lack of knowledge of local needs and conditions by state and federal administrators, multiplici-

ty of agencies performing the same or similar services to the confusion, irritation and expense of the general public, plus the irritation and senseless rivalry of administrators, feeling of inferiority on the part of local officials because of state and federal back-seat driving, newness or change of a service which has not been sold to the public, failure of the merit system to emphasize local personnel acceptability.

With this store of assorted findings, the Council on Intergovernmental Relations has come forward with its eleven-point, two-pronged proposal to raise the stature of local government and mesh the gears—local, state, federal—better.

Program for Action

Its recommendations for raising the stature of local government come under five headings:

1. Grant local units more authority over their own affairs, including the power to levy other taxes than those on property;

2. Provide consultatory and advisory services, conferences and short courses for local government officials through the state universities and state agencies;

3. Develop revenue sharing and cooperative administrative arrangements between the three "sizes" of government as a substitute for centralization, distribute state store license revenue back to cities, distribute revenue from alcoholic beverage fees back to cities and towns which bear the burden of enforcement, examine the possibility of income taxes as a means of replacing or partially replacing property tax for school costs, provide incentive for saving by allowing unused highway funds to revert to county, state or federal treasuries;

4. Free county commissioners from legislative duties by transfer of all county ordinance-making to the county council, so that commissioners become clearly administative and the council clearly legislative;

5. Revise property tax system by state technical assistance to local communities in making assessments, periodic or continuous reassessment program, more individual responsibility to simplify the assessment process, consolidating and simplifying state and local licensing and tax collection, more checks and penalties on property tax payment, shorten time between assessment and collection, install scientific assessment system and modern accounting procedure.

In order that the gears of local, state and federal government may be better meshed, the intergovernmental council asks that a somewhat new approach to American government be used—the principle of *only one level of government*.

It conceives one-stop government service centers, set up according to function: one agriculture office, one welfare office, one tax collection office. Whether the administration be shared by different units or be handled by one unit, all services of a kind should be rendered by a single agency within the community.

In this process more governmental control and operation should be left to the local units, especially

in those instances in which government provides a direct service to the "customer," reserving to state and federal governments the task of supplying technical and scientific services to local units.

As a part of the philosophy of this process, the council suggests that, in cooperative intergovernmental programs, the further removed the administration from the point of service, the fewer and simpler should be the controls exerted.

To implement this one-level principle it proposes a local coordinating committee in each community, with district and state administrative councils which could advise and consult with state and national administrators as to problems and needed changes.

Coordinate Activities

It proposes that the County Planning Commission be agreed upon by local, state and federal governments as the body to become the teamwork organizer for all the public services—local, state and federal—in the county.

The County Planning Commission would represent the citizens of the county in planning county needs, and in recommending what public services are needed, who should supply these services, and how they can best be dovetailed.

The Planning Commission is conceived as a body which would be eyes and ears for local, state and federal government, and the spokesman for the citizen who receives the service and pays the bill.

It could reconcile many group interests within the community and dissipate some of the pressure for state and national legislation which makes a doubtful contribution to the general welfare.

The commission already covers a large governmental sphere through land-use planning; it could enlarge its scope to cover the council's proposal without any changes in the state laws under which it now operates; it is set up on a bipartisan basis; and the city has representation on the commission through membership of a City Plan Commission member.

Is it not, our community study committee asks, the long-missing key through which the people of a community may dissipate chaos and distance between them and their local, state and federal governments, and secure one-level government, ordered, efficient and responsive.

This plan should work not only in New Castle, Henry County, Indiana, but anywhere in the United States because it represents the essence of good government—the exercise of good citizenship, the charging of good leaders with responsibility, the carrying through of cooperative effort, and the resting of final judgment with the people who are to be served.

The council's eleventh recommendation is considered basic to all the others and to any real expectation of improving government locally, statewise, nationally and internationally. It is based on the premise that good government starts in the schools. It proposes that our

schools and colleges teach a new and vigorous course in government, emphasizing first the practical study —and the importance—of local government.

This would require a wholesale rescaling of our civics courses and texts, and revision of teacher training curricula to emphasize local government, which is largely ignored or played down in present curricula and texts. It is usually covered last, and sketchily, if at all. We believe that more good people will aspire to local public office if they learn correctly that it takes a good man or woman to do the really important local job. And by drawing better officials into local government, better qualified persons will be graduated into state, federal and international government.

Need for Coordination

Getting into specific fields of action and pointing out progress and possibilities for coordination, there are 45 tax and fee collection agencies in the state government and five different collection offices in our community. Two members of our intergovernmental study committee are members of the State Tax Study Commission which is considering a proposal for submission to the next session of the legislature for consolidation of these collection offices functioning at the state level. This should make it natural and relatively easy to effect some consolidation at the local level.

In Indiana, May and November are the peak periods when local tax collectors are busiest. There has grown a feeling that at off-periods the collection machinery could be effectively used to issue automobile licenses at the treasurer's office. This would make good sense to the taxpayer though it has opposition because of a fear that it would eliminate a political job or so.

Another field in which there is action toward strengthening local government while simplifying service to the customer is that of veterans service. The community had ready for action, even before state enabling legislation was adopted, a coordinated program for providing right-at-home service for returning veterans as a local public service. This office, headed by a World War II veteran, has kept and extended the county-wide citizen advisory committee which sponsored its development and aided in sponsoring and pushing through the state enabling act. This office coordinates the efforts of the many voluntary groups and the various local, state and federal agencies in serving veterans and their families.

A few months ago the Veterans Administration announced plans to open an office in Henry County—too little consideration was given to the need for such office. The local veterans office covered a large part of the work of the Veterans Administration, plus doing many things of a personal nature that the VA could not do or was not authorized to do. There was a feeling that here was a federal agency coming into a community—not asking if its services were needed—duplicating in many respects what was already being done locally. Our council has proposed

(on a try-out basis) that a joint arrangement be worked out between local, state and federal governments to prevent duplication and give the veterans the advantage of Veterans Administration services and at the same time give them the personal service that the local offices offer and *not take away local responsibility.*

A third example of opportunity for meshing the gears better is in the agricultural service in which there is competition even among some of the existing agencies. Some of this competition is not so aggravated in Indiana as in other states. It appears that Indiana has avoided much competition between the educational and agricultural services by having a coordinated administration at the state level which carries into the community pretty well. This particular competition finds, in some cases, 4-H clubs sponsored by the Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture competing with the Future Farmers of America, sponsored by the Vocational Agricultural organization, also within the USDA.

Highways and Conservation

A fourth field of action is that of highways which finds the State Highway Commission, the Henry County Highway Department, and the cities and towns of Henry County already having their efforts coordinated through the joint City-County Planning Commission work.

Still another field is that of conservation, erosion and flood control, etc. The planning commissions sponsored a meeting in which it was found that there is much that could and should be done by local units, with much good federal and state help available which is not being used. This conference showed several of the nine federal, state and local agencies opportunities for doing their jobs better and eliminating overlapping. Here, too, the County Planning Commission is serving as the coordinating agency.

The list, of course, includes many other areas of action—health and sanitation, employment, law enforcement, welfare, school, recreation. There is a big job ahead. The Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations feels it has put under way the first step in equipping the county to do it. It will be worth all the effort it will require because local government is the training ground for responsible local, state, federal and international government.

New British Towns for Old

Nationwide program is designed to curb growth of large cities and to develop new communities of 30,000 - 60,000.

By F. J. OSBORN*

AS A result of ideas developed during and since the war there has been a radical change in Britain's policy of town development. It has been decided to limit the expansion of large cities, to build a number of entirely new industrial towns, and to foster the expansion of small country towns. At the same time the sprawl of industry and housing in rural areas will be stopped. Large agricultural reservations will be maintained around and between the old and new towns, separating them from each other and giving them local character and cohesion.

Britain is the most urbanized nation in the world. Four-fifths of its families live in cities and towns. But the British, though now in the main an urban people, retain a deep attachment to the country-side. They spend their holidays in open places, by the sea, in the mountains, or in the more beautiful parts of the country. They are devoted to open-air games and sports. Many belong to cycling and rambling clubs, and on weekends hundreds of thousands leave the cities for the country. They want therefore to be near the country, though their work and social habits make them wish to live in towns. The great majority would like, if they could, to live where they can have the advantages of town and country together.

Garden Cities of Tomorrow

This was the idea that in 1898 led a famous Londoner, Ebenezer Howard, to write his book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow,* which inspired the international garden-cities movement. His idea was misunderstood and was confused with the movement for open suburbs, from which it differed considerably. What Howard proposed was that the growth of large cities should be stopped. Instead, new self-contained towns of limited size should be built, each a center of manufacturing industry where people would work as well as live. They were to be limited in size, completely planned, and surrounded by wide stretches of farm lands. The land for each was to be owned by a single public or cooperative organization so that planning and development could be regulated.

Two new towns were actually built on this principle: Letchworth, started in 1904, and Welwyn, in 1920, both in agricultural areas in Hertfordshire, a little to the north of the London region. Both have been successfully established as manufacturing centers and are today vigorous and flourishing small towns.

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Britain has now decided to adopt this principle as one of the basic points in its future urban development program. Modern industrial methods, and the evolution of electrical power and transport, make practicable many types of industry and trade in towns of 30,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. Towns of that size can also be provided with efficient power and lighting services, water and drainage, education, and the health and cultural facilities a town population requires. Towns limited in size can have a high standard of social cohesion and consciousness, while their people can be within walking or cycling distance of their work and of the open country. At the same time they can be built at a density low enough to enable families to have good houses with private gardens and ample public open space for parks and games.

New Towns Bill

Legislation has been passed for the practical operation of this bold new policy; the New Towns Bill has passed through all its stages in the House of Commons and will soon become law.

In addition to these new powers, under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 local authorities were already able to buy war-damaged and obsolete areas. These they can replan as a whole, rebuilding the houses themselves and controlling other building within them as permanent owners of the land. Some very fine schemes have already been prepared for this rebuilding, and in the next few years much reconstruction will be done.

When rebuilding these formerly overcrowded areas many residents and industrial concerns will be displaced. The density must be reduced, in some cases by a third or a half. Provision must therefore be made elsewhere for the displaced industry and population. The New Towns Bill gives the necessary powers.

The New Towns Committee of which Lord Reith is chairman, and of which I am a member, has evolved the type of body that should build the towns, and its three reports deal with their planning, development, services and social life. Parliament has now agreed to create a new type of public corporation appointed and financed by the government, each having full responsibility for one town. Each corporation will own the site and prepare its plan. The construction of roads, sewers and other public services, as well as a substantial amount of the actual building, will be performed by the corporation. It will control the remainder of the building as landowner, granting leases to individuals and business firms.

The first of the new towns is planned for Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, 30 miles from London. Here some of the people displaced by the rebuilding of the north London boroughs will be able to settle. Moving there will not be compulsory; people will have a free choice. It is certain that a sufficient number will be attracted by the advanced

living and working conditions the new towns will offer. Already the industries needed are assured by the applications of firms and government establishments which desire to go there. The new regional plan for Greater London provides for ten new towns and there are sites for many more in the plans for other regions.

It will take fifteen to twenty years to build the new towns up to their intended populations of 30,000 to 60,000. At first priority must be given to the building of houses and factories and the most essential public buildings. The plans, however, provide for such a range of facilities and amenities as will make these towns among the best equipped in the world.

Full attention will be given to education, health, open-air games, meeting places and such cultural activities as the theatre, music and art, in which the British people are taking a tremendous interest. Local self-government is also being remembered. Each town will be a separate unit for this purpose; the elected council will undertake many of the services and cooperate closely with the government corporation in the work of building the town and creating its community life.

Illustrating Britain's Policy

The New Towns Committee will shortly produce its third and final report as a guide to the corporations. In it they recommend the provision of shops and factories by the towns themselves for renting to traders and industrial firms. This will give opportunities for all types and sizes of businesses to establish themselves. The whole scheme is an interesting illustration of the British policy of promoting industrial and business efficiency and enriching opportunities for family and social life under public planning and guidance.

The new towns policy is coupled with the planning of the whole country so as to preserve for agriculture and national recreation vast areas of the countryside which were in danger of being spoiled by uncontrolled development. Canalizing the vast building program towards new towns and country towns, rightly placed in relation to agricultural areas, will preserve good farm lands and bring amenities nearer to the rural population.

News in Review

States Seek to Outlaw Public Employee Strikes

New York and Delaware Bills Provide Drastic Penalties

CLOSELY following the end of the strike of Buffalo school teachers during the last week in February which closed the schools to 70,000 children, legislation was advanced in Albany to outlaw strikes of public employees, state or local. A bill had been introduced in the legislature on February 13 by Senator William F. Condon and Assemblyman John F. Wadlin, making striking governmental employees subject to penalties for misconduct and neglect of duty. On March 5 it was announced that, in deference to strong views of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, more drastic penalties would be included. The main text of the original bill is as follows:

> Any person holding a position by appointment or employment in the State of New York, or in the several cities, counties, towns or villages thereof, or in any other political or civil division of the state or of a municipality, or in the public school service, or in any public or special district, or in the service of any authority, commission or board, or in any other branch of the public service, shall be guilty of misconduct and neglect of duty if he fails to report for duty or otherwise absents himself from his position or abstains in whole or in part from the full, faithful and proper performance of the duties of his position for the purpose of inducing, influencing or coercing a change in the conditions, or compensation, or the rights, privileges or obligations of such position and shall be subject to the discipline and procedure provided by law for misconduct or neglect of duty in the position held by such person; provided further, however, that upon a determination that such person has been guilty of the misconduct and neglect of duty specified in this subdivision, unless such person is dismissed from the service or removed from office, then, in addition to any other punishment which may be imposed upon him and notwithstanding any other provision of law, the compensation of such person must be reduced to the minimum salary applicable to the position in which he is retained and notwithstanding any other provision of law, his compensation shall not be increased for a period of not less than three years following such determination of guilt.

Amendments adopted provide that a striking employee would forfeit his job and civil service rights; he could be reemployed at his former pay but would be barred from increases for three years and be on probation for five years. The amended bill passed the Senate by a vote of 35 to 16 and the Assembly by 92 to 54.

The bill was opposed by organized labor, including teachers. The American Civil Liberties Union declared its terms should be limited to such critically essential functions as policemen or firemen. Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City attacked it as "substituting automatic discharge and other disabilities, practically at the whim of the superior officer," for the "present orderly procedure" of the civil service law.

On March 4 the Delaware House of Representatives approved a bill to prohibit strikes by state or local employees, with penalties of fines up to $500, imprisonment up to one year, or both. It also would prohibit membership in any organization professing to have a right to strike against government.

Other efforts to meet the governmental strike menace seek to provide machinery for public labor disputes. A bill passed by the Minnesota Senate would provide that if public employees and administrative officials cannot reach an agreement on a labor dispute, either side may call in the state labor conciliator, who could require attendance of all interested parties at hearings and joint conferences and, failing a solution, could refer the matter to the governor. The latter would have discretion to appoint a fact-finding commission of three members.

Strike Discussion

A symposium on "How Can Strikes by Municipal Employees Be Avoided?" was presented in *The American City* for February; participants were H. Eliot Kaplan, executive secretary of the National Civil Service League; Arnold Zander, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., of Detroit, and City Manager George N. Schoonmaker of Toledo. All advocated peaceful channels of settlement to avoid strikes.

Mr. Kaplan urged that public administrators recognize the importance of establishing modern procedures in dealing with their employees, saying that the initiative must come from the top management in government unless public officials are to be subjected to the pressures of labor organizations. Emphasizing the basic distinctions in employment by government and by private business he asserted: "If we are to deny to public employees rights granted workers in private industry, such as the right to strike, to demand work contracts, the closed or union shop and exclusive bargaining, it is manifestly the responsibility of government to provide adequate machinery for handling employee grievances . . . . Employee organizations must subordinate their desire for improving conditions for their members to the interests of the people as a whole. The public, through its representatives, must do its part in providing the conditions which preserve the public interest."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Raleigh, North Carolina, voted on March 18 in favor of the council-manager plan, 4269 to 3041. The plan is effective July 1.

Charleston, Missouri, adopted the council-manager plan on March 18 by a large majority, the unofficial count being 582 to 236. The proposal was backed by civic clubs including the Lions, Optimist and Commercial Clubs.

Colby, Kansas, in a special election on March 12 overwhelmingly adopted the manager plan, 70.46 per cent voting yes.

The town of **Orono, Maine,** recently voted at a special town meeting to adopt the manager plan.

Limestone, Maine, voted at a special town meeting, 40 to 27, to retain the manager plan.

The town of **Bennington, Vermont,** at a recent election voted against the manager plan by the slim margin of 705 to 701, and the village of the same name also abandoned the manager plan, 985 to 952. Both have shared a manager since 1942.

The town of **Conway, New Hampshire,** which adopted the manager plan last year by a margin of nine votes, reaffirmed the plan on March 11 by a vote of 854 to 224.

A committee has been organized in **Fitchburg, Massachusetts,** to secure a vote on the manager plan at the city election next fall.

A Plan E Charter Organization has been functioning for some time in

Medford, Massachusetts, in order to acquaint the citizens with the council-manager plan. The movement is aided by the expectation of a substantially increased tax rate.

At an election on March 3 in **Saugus, Massachusetts,** a town manager proposal, backed by Speaker Frederick B. Willis of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, received a vote of 3,540 to 240 but nevertheless failed of adoption because the enabling law required that at least half of the registered voters should vote on the question. A total vote of 3,853 was required, as against 3,780 actual votes. There were 1,478 ballots that were not marked as to this question, there being eight questions on the ballot in all. Opponents of the town manager plan had urged voters not to vote on it.

The **Connecticut** legislature has unanimously approved the **Hartford** council-manager charter previously approved at a local referendum (see the REVIEW, January 1947, page 32).

The **Georgia** Senate has adopted a bill enabling **Camilla** to adopt the city manager plan. Bills have also been introduced in the legislature to provide similar action in **Dalton** and **Valdosta.** Under the proposal for Dalton, which was drawn up by a citizen's committee appointed by the mayor and council, the council-appointed manager would have charge of all departments except the schools and public utilities. The mayor and council would, however, appoint the city clerk, city attorney, tax assessors and board of registrars, as well as the water, light and sinking fund commission.

The **Georgia** legislature has passed a bill providing the council-manager plan for **Augusta.** The city will vote on the measure May 7.

The **Tennessee** legislature has passed a special act giving the manager plan to **McMinn County.**

In **Adrian, Michigan,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce is urging the council-manager plan in place of the present charter drafted in 1914, and is attempting to enlist the support of service clubs.

At the annual meeting of the **Hillsdale, Michigan,** Chamber of Commerce, strong sentiment for the manager plan was shown after former Mayor Richard J. Schmidt urged the need of a full-time professional manager to administer the city's services.

Ashland, Wisconsin, will vote on a manager proposal at the April election.

A manager type of administration has been set up in **Marksville, Louisiana,** by the mayor and board of aldermen, elected in mid-1946, who are serving without pay, turning their salaries over to the municipality to pay the manager and three police officers. The new mayor and aldermen are World War II veterans. They have announced that the town is now debt-free for the first time in many years.

Trenton, Missouri, voters defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 1,400 to 664 at an election held March 4.

In **Columbia, Missouri,** at a special election on February 11 a council-manager proposal was defeated, 3,000 to 2,453.

A petition for a manager plan election has been filed in **Chillicothe, Missouri.** Subject to check, it contained more than the required number of signatures.

Hannibal, Missouri, will vote on the manager plan March 31. More than the statutory requirements as to signatures were obtained on petitions calling for the referendum.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Great Bend, Kansas,** has been conducting a full-fledged campaign to bring about a favorable popular vote on the council-manager plan in April. A project director has been in charge,

aided by committees on research, publicity, contacts and speakers.

Petitions have been circulated by a citizens' committee in **Pittsburg, Kansas,** to obtain a popular referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan, to supersede the present commission government. If a change is approved it will become effective two years hence.

A popular vote on the manager plan is to be taken at the city election in **Erie, Kansas,** on April 7, as a result of a petition circulated earlier in the year.

A movement to obtain council-manager government for **Leavenworth, Kansas,** is reported to have been abandoned, at least for the present, following an opinion by the state attorney-general that adoption of the plan would entail the abolition of the water works board. Chairman Robert L. Collard of the Civic Improvement League announced that it was not the desire of the league to interfere with the board so long as it is composed of exceptional citizens as at present. Petitions for a manager plan election had been circulated and the 2,893 signatures obtained were undergoing the process of being checked.

The citizens' movement to establish the council-manager plan in **Kansas City, Kansas,** suffered a setback on March 4 when a proposal for its adoption was defeated at a special election. The unofficial count was 17,966 to 10,005.

Russell, Kansas, will vote on a council-manager proposal at the April election. The manager plan has been urged by the Chamber of Commerce.

The election in **Gainesville, Texas,** last November, in which abandonment of the manager plan was voted 666 to 543, has been declared illegal.

An election of freeholders to draft a new charter for **Anadarko, Oklahoma,** was scheduled for April 1. A council-manager charter is expected to result.

Reno, Nevada, will vote on a council-manager proposal at the city election in May.

A council-manager charter will be voted on in **Eureka, California,** at the municipal election on June 16.

El Centro, California, will vote on May 6 on adoption of the council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Woodland, California,** has overwhelmingly approved a council-manager plan proposal to be placed before the voters at the April city election.

The House of Representatives in the state of **Washington** has adopted a bill to permit second, third and fourth class towns to operate under council-manager government.

Merging Chicago and Park District Proposed

A bill has been introduced in the Illinois House of Representatives to consolidate the Chicago Park District with the city of Chicago. Such action was urged by resolution of the city council on December 30, 1946. The present park district was formed in 1933 by consolidation of many independent park systems. It now constitutes one of many overlapping local governmental agencies in Cook County.

Not only could large economies result from consolidation, but better city-wide services would be made possible, as pointed out by a committee of the Chicago City Club. Thus the 1,108 policemen employed by the district would no longer be restricted to the limited services they now render. The district has supervision and control over 110 miles of city streets, many not in the actual park system; these could be brought under a city-wide system of control and planning.

Georgians Protest Assaults on Voting Rights

Although the so-called "white primary" bill has passed the Georgia legislature and has been signed by Herman Talmadge—whose right to do so as governor has been denied by the State Supreme Court—the action was accompanied by courageous opposing votes of 62 representatives and fifteen senators and by vigorous protests from citizens and civic bodies. The measure was described as follows by the Georgia League of Women Voters:

"This drastic and highly controversial bill seeks to remove the primary, our only real election in Georgia, from the reach of the United States Supreme Court. To do this it repeals all laws safeguarding democratic procedures in the primary, including the 'secret ballot' law. It repeals your guarantees of the right to vote. It makes possible a statewide political machine with control in the hands of one man, the governor."

After stressing the courage of the legislators who spoke and voted against the bill, despite racial tensions in the state, the league's publication, *Georgia Voter*, goes on to describe the last of the four days of public hearings:

"On Thursday, final day of the hearings, the senate chamber was literally jammed with people, drawn from every corner of the state. A seemingly endless procession of speakers crowded to the microphone to protest the bill's passage. Speakers ranged all the way from ardent eighteen-year-old students and youthful veterans to the aged, yet eloquent, widow of a confederate general. The crowd was orderly even when the applause lengthened into cheers. An almost tangible spirit of earnest, intense sincerity permeated every corner of the big room. Packed against a wall in the gallery, one suddenly knew that this was democracy, democracy on the march. And that no matter what the final vote on the white primary bill might be, democracy could not be permanently stifled in Georgia."

The league lists and opposes several other bills that would undermine the rights of citizens to free and fair registration and elections. One of these would substitute biennial for permanent registration and revive the poll tax as a "registration fee." This would be written into the constitution by a proposed amendment. Another amendment would apply to general elections the county unit system which now, in the primary, points the rural minority to dominate the state's government. As to another bill (S.B. 51) the league says:

"This outrageous bill would set up the county board of registrars as sovereign bodies. If anyone should protest an act of the registrars, and say he intended to demand his rights by due process of law, he could be convicted of a felony. This would put the finishing touch on disfranchising Georgia citizens."

High Court Dismisses Illinois Districting Suit

On March 10 the U. S. Supreme Court dismissed the appeal of Kenneth W. Colegrove, et al, from the adverse lower court decision in a suit to invalidate the legislative districts in Illinois, unchanged since 1901 (see the REVIEW March 1947, page 152). The dismissal was "for want of a substantial federal question." Justices Black, Douglas and Murphy were recorded as of the opinion "that probable jurisdiction should be noted."

Minneapolis Charter Body Follows Strong-Mayor Plan

Public hearings on proposed charter provisions have been held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and a 65-member Citizens' Charter Committee has been

collaborating with the official Charter Commission in the preparation of a revised document.

As against the present system of diffused duties and responsibilities the proposed charter scheme would largely concentrate the city government in the city council and an elected mayor with large powers as the executive head. The municipal court system and the board of education are left without organic changes. According to a rough draft promulgated by the citizens' committee the provisions as to the council, mayor and various functions would be about as follows:

The council is declared to be the legislative body of the city. From 1947 to 1949 it will have 26 members, two from each ward. In 1949 the voters will elect one alderman from each ward and six at large for terms of four years, or nineteen in all. Salaries are increased and are higher for the at-large members because they will have extra work and responsibility and higher election costs. The council as a whole will pass all ordinances and resolutions, budgets, tax levies, appropriations and bond issues.

The aldermen-at-large, with the mayor, will be the finance committee and the licensing committee of the council, and the board of health for emergency purposes.

The mayor will be the executive and administrative head of the city. His term will be four years and his salary substantially increased. In legislative matters the mayor (a) may attend and speak but not vote in council meetings; (b) may propose ordinances and resolutions; (c) may veto acts of the council subject to being overruled by two-thirds vote; (4) may veto or cut appropriation items without being overruled by council.

He will be responsible for law enforcement, will appoint and remove all heads of departments and members of boards, and will prepare and submit to the council an administrative code, the annual budget, bond issue proposals, etc.

In appointing the city attorney, city clerk, supervisor of pensions and chief planning officer he must get council approval.

In appointing the heads of the departments of civil service, city planning, public welfare, libraries, and parks, the mayor must appoint a person from a list of three selected by an advisory board or commission for the department.

The numerous special tax levies and levy limits in the old charter are wiped out. A new and slightly higher limit is set for all purposes under the mayor and council and a separate one for all purposes under the board of education.

Bond issuing procedures are centered in the mayor and council; the debt limit is not changed; and the general laws on bond issues are applied to Minneapolis. The actual operation of the city's personnel system will be centered in a director of personnel while the Civil Service Commission, increased to five members, becomes more the watch dog of the system. Existing civil service and pension rights remain.

Inter-American Municipal Historical Congress

New Orleans, Louisiana, will be the seat of the Second Inter-American Municipal Historical Congress, which convenes on April 14—Day of the Americas—as determined last May at the second continental assembly of the Inter-American Institute of Institutional and Municipal History at Guatemala City. Besides presentation of papers and discussion as to municipal historical subjects, including urbanization, there will be a historical exhibit. All municipalities are invited to be members of the congress.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Public Education in the Spotlight

Teachers' Salaries and Other Problems Considered

TEACHER salaries are probably the most talked-about and publicized issue in the city today," states the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in a recent issue of *Bureau Notes.* The truth of this statement is borne out in reports from research groups in other cities. The Detroit bureau cites figures and graphs to prove that Detroit teachers have not fared worse than others in salary increases, and that they are not now underpaid.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director, in *It IS Your Business,* finds that "most people think in terms of $1,700 or $1,800 as the average annual salary for our teachers—when such a figure actually represents a statewide average." Statistical information showing that a higher average exists for Indianapolis teachers "does not mean, or imply, that teachers now are being paid enough, or too much," however.

"The Facts on Teachers' Salaries in Schenectady" are presented in *Research Brevities* of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director. Salaries paid to teachers compare favorably with those of other professions, are above the average in upstate New York, and are 46 per cent above those paid in Schenectady in 1929. In view of these and other considerations, including the economic value of tenure, state aid which provided $300 more to all New York state teachers "would advance the teachers out of proportion to advances given to other public employees."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, in a recent news letter discusses the two-fold request of Providence teachers for a single salary schedule and a state subsidy for a uniform increase of $600 per teacher.

While "there would appear to be justification for the view that salary increases are due," the problem of "how the increases are to be financed" is discussed by the bureau in a special report, *Opportunities for School Department Savings.* The report concludes that a great part of the money necessary can be raised from economies within the department.

The **California Taxpayers Association,** N. Bradford Trenham, general manager, aroused by the nation-wide program by radio, magazines and newspapers to convince the American people that teachers are "ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed," asks in its monthly *Tax Digest,* "But what about California? What about your town?" Two hundred sixty-four large elementary school districts and 164 large high school districts were sent questionnaires concerning salary scales, teacher shortages and remedies for meeting the shortages. The answers obtained are summarized.

The **Taxpayers Association of New Mexico,** Rupert F. Asplund, director, has published a report on the "Distribution of Classroom Teachers' Salaries in New Mexico, 1946-47" in its monthly *New Mexico Tax Bulletin.* Municipal salary scales are distinguished from rural scales.

The problem of increased teacher salaries and the effect of that increase on the general tax structure is set

forth in *You and Your Government,* the monthly bulletin of the **Arkansas Public Expenditure Council,** Sam Hays, executive director. Governor Laney's committee on education presented a program for raising teachers' salaries to an average of $1,200 this year and $1,500 next year. This, together with other requested expenditures, should be financed by a special liquor sales tax and by changing the allotment of general revenues.

The **Institute for Public Service,** William H. Allen, director, in a bulletin entitled "'Genteel Poverty' of USA Teachers, 1947," berates "mispublicity" by educational organizations and leaders which aids in "de-recruiting" potential teachers by falsifying figures and "withholding high spots of pay, prestige and conditions of teaching." "Last year's miseducating for education will for decades penalize the teaching profession."

The Proposed State Teachers Retirement Plan, prepared by a nonpartisan advisory committee and presented to the 1947 Washington legislature, is outlined by the **Municipal League of Seattle,** John C. Bollens, research director. Teachers would receive $125 to $150 in monthly retirement allowances after 30 years' service in place of the present $50 per month.

School Buildings, Transportation

A recent survey of the *Pressing Need for Adequate King County School Building Program,* undertaken by the county schools subcommittee of the Seattle league, reveals the acute shortage of certain physical facilities.

"The Proposed Building Program for the St. Louis Public Schools" is considered in *Mind Your Business,* bulletin of the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis,** Charlton F. Chute, director. The need for a program of "modernization, replacement and expansion" is indicated.

A Guide Relating to School Transportation in Wisconsin was prepared by the **University of Wisconsin Extension Division, Department of Debating and Public Discussion,** Leslie E. Brown, director, in order to aid individuals and groups in making their decisions concerning a proposal to authorize "the legislature to provide for the transportation of children to and from any parochial or private school." Facts on existing transportation policies in Wisconsin and in other states and court decisions on transportation of private school pupils are assembled.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, in an issue of its *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* entitled "Transportation—High School Pupils," concludes that lack of uniformity is the main impression gained from an analysis of the facts about transportation in Wisconsin.

Proposed legislation raising school tax ceilings would halt "progress toward coordination" between the common council and the school board, according to a bulletin of the **Citizens Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman Gill, director. The common council is now authorized to levy taxes on behalf of the schools in excess of current school tax ceilings. This helps to coordinate the budgets of the school board and common council. Proposed legislation raising two of the three tax ceilings which the board of school directors may levy for operating purposes would allow the school board to function independently from the common council.

The **Municipal Research Bureau of the Akron Chamber of Commerce** has issued a report on the *Akron School District Tax Request for 1947* which includes a summary of estimated costs and taxes, an analysis of the budget, and the budget itself.

Two recent *Bulletins* of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, deal

with the problems of an increased school budget. A proposed new formula for distributing state aid based on assessed valuation would work to the disadvantage of San Francisco with its high assessment ratio and its large amount of downtown business property. One suggestion to meet this problem is that the unified city-county school district be divided so as to concentrate the high-value downtown property in a separate district with relatively few children.

"Any system of state aid for education must meet two major objectives," states the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in an issue of *News and Views—Your State and Local Government* entitled "State Aid for Education." One is equitable distribution of state funds; the second is that "adequate educational opportunities are made available to all children in the state." The present system, "based upon a foundation program of $100 per pupil," is not equitable because of differences in ratio of assessed to true value of real estate.

A second report by the same bureau, entitled *Educational Standards*, deals with the second objective stated above. "Dollars alone do not guarantee the product." Minimum standards of school and school district size must be established if "the high standard of educational opportunity demanded in Connecticut is to be met."

State and Local Fiscal Problems

"Has the time come to reduce the dependence of local government on federal and state revenue sources and to return to a more definite fiscal responsibility at the local level?" asks John F. Sly, director, **Princeton Surveys**, in an article entitled "Tax Supplements for Municipalities" in *The Tax Review* issued by the **Tax Foundation**. For the past 50 years "more money for local services" has been gathered by central financing and "the proceeds redistributed . . . with very rough approximations of local 'need.'" The centrally assessed tax "with supplements for local purposes" is suggested as a remedy, for it "bears promise of simplicity, fairness and local adequacy, in addition to a stronger fiscal responsibility so important to local self-government."

"The 1947-48 budget can be balanced without any additional state aid and without any increase in the current real estate tax rate," asserts Henry J. Amy, executive director of the **Citizens Budget Commission of New York City**, in a recent release. Receipts from the general fund, underestimated by the comptroller, plus the present $2.70 real estate tax rate will balance the budget, even allowing for increases in city expenses and temporary debt service, according to the release.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** decries proposed "legislation to increase horizontally the gross income tax," in *It IS Your Business*. Instead of providing a "greater distribution of state funds to local units," Marion County would be paying "more to get back less."

The "new fiscal policy of large sums of state aids has changed the entire picture of local finance and forced a revision and expansion of the entire state tax system," explains the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research**, Harold L. Henderson, executive director, in *State Governmental Research Bulletin No. 18*, entitled "Problems of State Aids in Minnesota." This 44-page bulletin is a comprehensive report of facts and findings covering the effect of aid payments on local financing, liabilities and problems created by grants-in-aid, reasons for

state aids, federal aid in Minnesota, etc.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, in its *P. E. L. Newsletter* entitled "City Revenue Sources, the Statewide Pattern and Its Application to Allegheny County," analyzes the "differences in the use the cities make of the revenue powers given them by the Commonwealth." It is hoped that from such an analysis and from a realization of the economies that must be practiced, cities will learn to make the best use of their income sources.

Unified State Tax Administration (77 pages), has been issued by the **Governmental Research Department, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce,** Howard Friend, research director. The report reviews the uncoordinated tax collection process in Indiana; the functioning of integrated revenue departments in other states with special attention to New York, Oklahoma, Utah, Kentucky, Kansas, Colorado and Michigan; and urges the establishment of an integrated revenue collection department in Indiana.

"A review of the 1946 Tax Year" in the *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* issued by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** indicates that, contrary to expectation, tax receipts exceeded those of the record year of 1945. While there were decreases in collection of corporation income taxes, unemployment compensation taxes, etc., increases in liquor, tobacco, individual income and property taxes offset the difference. Such a high tax yield helps to continue the trend in reduction of local public debts.

"Among the sources of tax revenue left to the states which do not introduce an element of competition among taxing units the general sales tax is the largest and most dependable," concludes a brief survey of "State General Sales Taxes" in a recent number of *Your State and Local Government,* issued by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.**

Economy in Government

In another issue, the council discusses "Basic Considerations to Economy in State Government." Among the obstacles to economy noted by the report are "the extreme decentralization of administration," the composition of the legislature which "tends to magnify local interests and pressure at the expense of the state as a whole," pressure from special interests, a budget process in need of strengthening and weaknesses in the constitutional position of the governor.

"What Can the State Afford Over the Next Several Years?" is the query carried in a report from **Citizens Research, Inc., Columbus, Ohio,** Virgil H. Dassel, director of research.

Your Tax Dollar, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** calls attention to two "Important Matters of State Fiscal Policy and Practice," namely: "providing the state with a real budgetary system and its related fiscal procedures and accounting methods" and "improving the basis of sharing state-collected revenues with the local governments."

The questionable value of certain constitutional debt limitations and expenditure controls in the state government are developed in the light of Oklahoma experience in a 27-page study entitled *Post Appropriation Budgetary Control in Oklahoma* by Joseph C. Pray, associate professor of government, University of Oklahoma, published by the author (50 cents). More than half the study is devoted to the budget-balancing amendment of 1941.

Missouri's Growing Old Age Assistance Program—and a Suggested Improvement is the subject of a sixteen-page report by the **Missouri Publi**

Expenditure Survey, Edward Staples, executive director. The report points out that only three states have a larger percentage of their total population receiving old age assistance than Missouri and suggests consideration of a number of methods used in other states to control the growth of the assistance rolls. The adoption of a lien and recovery provision in the law is considered the most attractive immediate possibility for Missouri.

The *Colorado Taxpayer,* publication of the **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director, informs its readers that "State Expenditure Requests Exceed Revenue." Requests for general fund appropriations, the estimated general fund revenue for 1945-1947 and the vanishing state surplus in the general fund are itemized.

The *Montana Taxpayer,* organ of the **Montana Taxpayers Association,** R. A. Neill, executive director, follows suit with the report, *State Budget Requests Show Huge Increase.* These requests are 38 per cent higher than those granted two years ago and "exceed the estimated general fund revenue by more than $5,000,000 for the biennium."

With "Minneapolis taxes near peak" and the costs of state government rising because of increased operating expenses, the veterans bonus "specter" and greater school aids demanded, Minneapolis taxpayers are urged in *The Taxpayer,* issued by the **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association,** George Bestrom, manager, to tell their legislators that "they cannot and will not stand an increase in the property tax."

Debt Reduction

The "16th Consecutive Year of Debt Reduction" headlines a recent news letter of the **Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Taxpayers Association,** Joseph A. Kelly, executive director. The "new low debt per capita" reduces the bonded indebtedness of Woonsocket to the lowest in the state, although it is still higher than the average for all cities of the country in the same population class. Since 1931 this debt reduction has resulted in a saving of 31 per cent of the city's tax levy.

"Taxpayers will have little relief from the heavy burden of paying for obligations, some of which were incurred as far back as 1918, until after 1957," prophesies the **Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers Association,** Raymond P. Botch, managing director, in *City of Waterbury Trend of Bonded Debt and Interest Requirements from 1918 to 1946.* The association recommends smoothing out bond retirements to avoid drastic fluctuations from year to year, and future capital improvement financing on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Although the city's debt has been reduced each year, effecting savings on principal and interest, "operation expenses have been going up," so that the expenditure has been the same, notes the **Springfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association,** Edward Jones, executive director, in *Here Is the Story! Springfield's Finances in Color.*

Buffalo's past practices in reducing bonded debt are outlined in *Just A Moment* of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George O. Sipprell, manager. Poor fiscal policies until the middle thirties have left a large annual debt service requirement, but following the pay-as-you-go plan adopted over ten years ago will bring 1950 bond maturities to "approximately half what they are today."

The Buffalo bureau continues its analysis of the city's fiscal affairs in a bulletin entitled *Assessed Valuations.* Statistics show that, while property is assessed at 100 per cent of true value, total real property valuations have dropped 7.5 per cent in the last ten years.

"The general property tax is an institution of long standing . . . and its administration in most jurisdictions has been bad," states E. H. Plank in *A Comparison of the Assessed and "Sales" Value of Property in Bernalillo County,* published by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico.** Assessment and valuation techniques "must be revolutionized if scientific results are to be achieved."

Occupation and Amusement Fees and Taxes in Oregon Cities provide 5.8 per cent of the general revenues of all cities, according to the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Oregon,** Herman Kehrli, executive secretary, in a recent information bulletin. The flat rate business and occupational tax schedule is being gradually displaced by "a schedule of rates that varies according to some measure of the volume of business," which will provide a more equitable and less regressive type of tax.

A set of tables compiled by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, in a recent number of *Citizens' Business,* "Philadelphia's Rank in Operating Expenditures," indicates that among seven large comparable American cities, Philadelphia's per capita expenditures for general government rank low.

"The elimination of large general fund surpluses, due mainly to unexpectedly large demands as the result of the November election . . . signals the end of huge wartime surpluses," states the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** in a recent bulletin. This shortage "may forecast higher taxes next year."

Controlling Expenditures

"HB 337 is a dangerous bill" warns the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** in *It IS Your Business.* This bill provides that the city council may increase as well as reduce budget items and "further provides that the city council shall not *reduce* any item without the consent of the mayor." This would be equivalent to declaring that "Congress could not touch the federal budget without presidential consent."

Possible decreases in the county budget were offset by increases of other items, reports the **Jasper County (Missouri) Tax Economy Association,** Gerald N. Hardy, executive secretary, in the *Jasper County Taxpayer.* Under present state law, "a large portion of the county's expenditures is fixed by statutes and another quite large portion is established by the circuit court judges" thus violating the principle that "a governmental body which spends money should also be responsible for levying and providing for other revenues to finance these expenditures."

"Providence continues to be faced with a situation wherein the existing revenue structure will not yield sufficient income to finance the present expenditure program" comments the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** in a report entitled *Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1937-1946.* Charts are included which trace the fluctuations in tax rate, tax collections, indebtedness, revenues and expenditures for the past nine years.

Lewistown, Pennsylvania, adopted a new method of securing insurance protection last summer, reports the **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service** in a supplement to the *Borough Bulletin,* by taking out a blanket liability policy and offering the policy for competitive bids. In this way, a "31 per cent reduction in annual insurance charges was achieved."

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Citizens, Officials Unite for Better Cities

Organize for Planning on Metropolitan Basis

ONE OF the most hopeful developments in recent years has been the emergence of metropolitan area citizens' planning or development councils," says an editorial appearing several months ago in this REVIEW.[1] "This method is so logical that it is strange it failed to come forward earlier." As the editorial comments, such organization may cover more than one county or, as in the Kansas City area, more than one state. Many of them have memberships representative of both officials and laymen. All are seeking to approach the problems of their cities and the metropolitan areas surrounding them in a constructive manner, seeking to do away with urban decay and making plans for avoiding it in the future.

Two-state Group

The **Citizens Regional Planning Council** for the Kansas City, Missouri,[2] metropolitan area covers five counties in two states and numerous municipalities. William M. Symon is executive director. In his annual report, *Guiding the Growth of the Metropolitan Area* (20 pages), Delos C. Johns, general chairman of the Board of Governors, comments that "community leaders seem to be of the unanimous opinion that worthwhile community projects are seldom adopted unless there has been community or area-wide citizen participation in the discussion and studies preceding the submission of the projects to the voters."

Mr. Johns cites four things which must be done by way of education for citizen participation: (1) An active functioning citizen group must be formed in every community to consider strictly local planning and community development problems; (2) membership without financial obligation must be obtained for these groups from every neighborhood, from every type of organization and from every walk of life; (3) members of each community group must be divided into as many committees as may be needed and such committees should have unlimited and unrestricted membership; (4) arrangements must be made for combining similar committees in each community group into regional committees for consideration of problems of the whole area. Five cities—Kansas City, North Kansas City, Independence and Excelsior Springs, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, have taken these steps. The report lists the work of these local groups in detail.

The regional council has nearly 4000 members, many of whom serve on two or more committees. A regional membership of ten thousand is anticipated.

According to the report, neither the individual councils nor the regional council "operate on the basis that their task is to seek new methods of spending public money." Their principal concern is to compile "a list of all those things that need to be done if this area is to be properly safeguarded for the future, and to keep

[1] See "Consider the WHOLE City," October 1946.

[2] See also "The Disappearing Boundaries," by William M. Symon, The REVIEW May 1946.

such a compilation alive and up to date through constant study of changing facts and conditions." It is concerned also with the type of planning which will eliminate unnecessary expenditures and cut down the costs of government rather than increase them if progress can be made on that basis.

San Francisco Area

Feeling the need of an informal analysis of public housing in San Francisco as a guide in the formation of its postwar policy, the **San Francisco Planning and Housing Association,** Hervey Parke Clark, president, decided to do something about it. The result is *San Francisco Public Housing —A Citizen Survey* (30 pages) which reviews some five years of public housing.

The study was made from the viewpoint of the lay citizen and covers five permanent projects. Major sources of information were the records and personnel of the Housing Authority. Reports on social aspects, finances, architectures, human attitudes "were written by busy men and women who took time off to find out for themselves how public housing was going and set down the facts as they found them."

The **San Francisco Bay Area Council,** Frank E. Marsh, executive vice president, is "devoted to the economic and civic development of the nine counties bordering on San Francisco Bay." Like the Kansas City area organization, its work is accomplished through its committees which "are named to fulfill specific functions or which serve continuously in certain fields." Communities are represented "by civic leaders including representatives of the nine county boards of supervisors, mayors, and presidents of chambers of commerce."

The council "coordinates and unifies the efforts of public and private agencies toward successful completion of Bay Area projects; serves as a clearing house for area-wide information, suggestions for improvement and community problems; analyzes and screens suggestions with a view toward development of those designed to further the economic, industrial, social, commercial, civic or cultural growth of the Bay Area; marshals the weight of public opinion in support of specific projects and programs of Bay Area importance; and affords a medium through which the combined influence of nine counties is presented in manufacturing, foreign trade, transportation, agricultural, legislative, educational and other programs."

Queen City Plans

Recent issues of *Planning and Development News,* organ of the **Citizens Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area,** Walton R. L. Taylor, executive secretary, discuss "Cincinnati's Master Plan for Airports" and "The Cincinnati Riverfront Redevelopment Plan." In his report to the membership President Neil McElroy, vice president and general manager of Proctor and Gamble Company, cited some of the association's activities—"sponsorship of a series of eleven fifteen-minute radio programs on planning in Cincinnati; distribution of a booklet on the master plan, *What's on the Slate for Greater Cincinnati?,* to 20,000 school children; financing and mailing 4,000 copies of the Planning Commission's brochure on the riverfront redevelopment plan; and construction of an exhibition for visual presentation of the riverfront redevelopment plan." During 1946, reported Mr. McElroy, the group's speakers bureau presented programs on the master plan to 45 audiences

numbering 3,000 persons. Its news letter is distributed to over 7,000 representative Cincinnatians.

Allegheny Conference

Community Development is a report by the **Allegheny (Pittsburgh) Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director, covering "Outstanding Events in Conference Program or Directly Related Thereto Since Annual Dinner of September 11, 1945." Matters covered include announcement by Governor Martin of the $57,000,000 improvement program in Allegheny County, public improvements, smoke abatement, research projects. Listed are conference publications. The organization's policy is "to deal with community problems through existing agencies. However, when no agency exists to deal with a particular problem, or when the agency best fitted is not in a position to do so, the conference then assumes responsibility for finding a means of working out the problem."

Cleveland Milestones

Milestones is an attractive two-color brochure published by the **Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council,** S. Burns Weston, executive director. A recent issue reports to members on what other large metropolitan areas—Pittsburgh, Louisville, Detroit and Cincinnati—are doing to solve urban problems.

Louisville Gets Results

Such problems as smoke abatement, parking and the fast growth of Louisville are discussed by the **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director, in its monthly *Planning for the Louisville Area.* The association continues its periodic publication of *Plans in Action,* giving highlights from reports of committees. Like other redevelopment groups, the committee method is used to advantage. Problems investigated include education, finance and taxation, health, housing, parks and recreation, public buildings, sewers and drainage, smoke abatement, streets and highways, transportation and welfare. Many of these subjects are subdivided with a committee studying only one angle of a problem. There is an over-all chairman as well as a chairman for each subgroup.

Toledo Efforts

"Toledo's future is what we make it," says the **Toledo Regional Planning Association,** Gladys Morris, secretary. Membership is open to all individuals and groups interested in a better Toledo. Its monthly *News Letter* carriers notices of the association's meetings, many of which are round-table discussions, and news on planning both in Toledo and elsewhere. A special legislative meeting discussed "Progress of Our Planning Bills in the State Legislature."

The association's third annual meeting in January was addressed by Stephen C. Noland, editor of the Indianapolis *News* and chairman of the **Indiana Economic Council,** on "The Citizen's Role in Planning."

Recently the association sent a card to each of its members asking them to mark on a prepared list those committees on which they would like to serve.

Toward a Master Plan (116 pages, illustrated), a "preliminary sketch for a master plan of the city of Toledo and the metropolitan area," has been issued by the **Metropolitan Planning Committee of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce,** Frank Sohn, chairman. "The planning program that has been developed in this report," comments the committee, "would, if carried out, give Toledo the opportunity of be-

coming one of America's most beautiful cities." It was discussed by Chairman Sohn and the chairmen of subcommittees on March 18 at a meeting of the Toledo Regional Planning Association.

Indianapolis Has a Plan

Our City and How It Proposes to Pay for Its Seven-Year Plan of Improvements (45 pages) has been published by the **Indianapolis Postwar Planning Committee,** James W. Carr, secretary. Attractively printed on slick paper, it shows in pictures some of the definite needs for "Our City Improvements." Thirty-three reports from fourteen citizens' committees were consulted in preparing the pamphlet. Budget figures are presented for a seven-year $25,000,000 program, together with a suggested schedule of priorities. Number one priority among the city's needs is an adequate sewerage system, next is the redevelopment of blighted areas, and so on. Last but not least, the committee considers the financial aspects of the plan.

'Daddy' of Them All

One of the oldest—perhaps the oldest—citizens regional planning group is the **Regional Plan Association,** Frederick P. Clark, planning director, "a research and planning agency supported by voluntary membership to promote the coordinated development of the New York—New Jersey—Connecticut Metropolitan Region." The association's conference, held in New York City late in 1946, was called "to present for active discussion the three most pressing development problems—housing, parking and support of planning—confronting the communities of the metropolitan region." Officials of many of the 550 municipalities of the New York region attended, a number of them as speakers and discussion leaders.

A recently organized New York group, formerly known as the Metroplanalysts, has now become the **New York Metropolitan Committee for Planning.** Its first project is compilation and distribution of information on significant research projects on planning in the New York region. Arline Engel of the National Housing Authority is in charge of the project.

New England Communities

The **New England Council,** Dudley Harmon, executive vice president, has issued a thought-provoking leaflet on *Who is They?* "Our basic objective," points out William D. Mann, secretary of the council's Community Development Committee, "is to develop 'community developers' out of the local sidewalk critics who think some mysterious THEY ought to get things done." The eight-page primer, with plenty of illustrations and little reading matter, suggests that "they" is you and your neighbors.

A Neighborhood Plan

Organized by public-spirited citizens, the **Chicago South Side Planning Board,** Robert E. Garrigan, executive director, has as its objective the rehabilitation of the rundown areas in the central south side of Chicago. Long-range plans cover the development of new housing to replace slum dwellings, a new traffic pattern to facilitate the flow of traffic, health and welfare facilities, a planned industrial area set apart from residential zones, more effective police protection and improved city services. Widespread interest in the board's program is reported in the board's *News,* the first issue of which appeared in December.

The **Citizens Conference on Planning** organized by the **American Planning and Civic Association,** Miss Harlean James, executive secretary, will meet in Milwaukee April 28-30 with headquarters at Hotel Pfister.

"Citizens' Organizations for Planning in Small Cities," by Miriam Strong, community planner with the Tennessee Valley Authority, appearing in *Planning and Civic Comment,* July 1946, deals with some "exploratory thinking which has grown out of experiences with planning problems in small communities in the Tennessee Valley."

Legislative Action Watched by Civic Groups

The **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miriam Butler, executive secretary, devotes two issues of its monthly *Lens* to its 1947 legislative program and asks members to write their senators and representatives urging action as recommended by the league.

"Bret Able—Legislator" is the name of a series of cartoon strips published in the *Pulliam Albany Letter* by **Governmental Research, Inc.,** (New York State), Abbett Pulliam, executive vice president. The cartoon features a young inexperienced legislator of high ideals who tries to get to the heart of things—especially the budget—to determine what's what, but finds himself up against a stone wall in the shape of the politicians as well as a few state officials.

The **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary, has presented to state legislators a copy of its *Legislative Handbook* (28 pages, $2.50) containing information on Iowa expenditures and taxes and listing the income taxes of all states.

In its "Legislative Synopsis" the **Civic Federation of Chicago,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, is reporting to members on legislative bills of interest to members.

The **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** Dryden Kuser, director, is sending all its members copies of the *Daily History and Daily File* of the Assembly and the Senate in lieu of the association's former *Legislative Bulletin.*

A *Legislative Bulletin* listing all bills introduced in the House and Senate is being sent to its members by the **Indiana Taxpayers Association,** Walter T. Horn, executive secretary.

Indiana state senators and representatives were guests of individual **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** (C. E. Whitehall, president) members at its biennial legislative dinner. Purpose of the dinner was to "extend a hearty welcome to the legislators from other communities of Indiana, to help them establish friendships with Indianapolis business people and build good will between Indianapolis and the rest of the state."

The *Articulate Voter* of the **Minnesota League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Irvine McQuarrie, president, has published "Our Legislative Program," a list of bills which the group supports as well as those to which the league is opposed. "Be sure your own legislators . . . know your views on the state legislative items supported by the league," suggests Ivy Hildebrand, legislative chairman.

A "Civic Conference on State Legislation," held in New York City, was attended by representatives of numerous civic groups including the **Citizens Union of New York City,** the **Public Education Association, New York City League of Women Voters, New York State Charities Aid Association, Civil Service Reform Association** and the **New York City Citizens Housing Council.**

"Legislative News from Springfield," by Helen C. Foreman, legislative chairman of the **Illinois League of Women Voters,** is published in *The Illinois Voter.*

"Your Right to Vote is Threatened by Bills Now in Legislature," headlines the **Georgia League of Women**

Voters, Mrs. Leonard Haas, president, in its monthly *Georgia Voter.* Specifically, the league mentions the white primary bill; the biennial registration bill which forces the voter to re-register every other year, revives the poll tax, and invests in the registrars the determination of who shall vote in the general election; and other equally undemocratic legislation.[1]

Bills introduced into the Ohio legislature to provide a research division for the legislature, lower the voting age to 18, and provide a commission to study state finances are discussed in the **Cleveland Citizen League's** *Greater Cleveland.*

The **Benton Harbor, Michigan, Chamber of Commerce** is holding a Saturday luncheon meeting each week during the legislative session so that members may keep abreast of the progress of proposed legislation. The chamber maintains a complete file of all bills introduced.

A plan to rush through the Florida legislature a bill to abolish all reference in Florida law to party primaries is causing concern to the **Florida Voter's League,** Edwin L. Clarke, secretary. The organization has sent a card to its members asking them to state their position on this and other proposed legislation so that the league's executive board may act accordingly.

The **League of Women Voters of Wisconsin,** Mrs. William A. Norris, president, lists its 1947 legislative program as follows:

1. Statutory and constitutional changes for improvement of county government;

2. Increased and more equitable state aids for education, reorganization of school districts;

3. Revision and codification of public welfare laws; control of juvenile delinquency; increased appropriations for state department of public welfare;

4. Reapportionment of the state's legislative districts on the basis of the 1940 census.

[1]See also page 206, this issue.

Aids for the Voter

Over a hundred thousand copies of the **Detroit Citizens League's** report on candidates for the February primary were distributed throughout the city, reports William P. Lovett, executive secretary. The report appeared in *Civic Searchlight,* monthly publication of the league, which makes recommendations on candidates, listing them as "preferred," "qualified," etc.

The **Citizens Association of Chicago,** Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, issued a *Report and Recommendations Concerning Aldermanic Candidates in the Election February 25, 1947.*

The **New York City League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Walter Neale, president, has published its 1947 edition of *They Represent You in Washington, Albany, New York City,* which contains "Information on Who Represents You, What Committees They Serve on, Where You Reach Them, How You Address Them." Maps of the five boroughs within the city show congressional as well as state senate and assembly districts—no excuse for failing to let your representative at any level of government know how you feel on important issues.

* * *

Annual Reports

Annual reports covering activities for 1946 have been received from the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** the **Civic Federation of Chicago,** the **Central Atlanta Improvement Association,** and the **Seattle Municipal League.** All these groups have a wide sphere of activity in local affairs.

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Boston Campaign Waxes Hot

Other Massachusetts Cities Turning to P. R.-Manager

WHILE Mayor Curley awaits the outcome of the appeal from his conviction for fraudulent use of the mails, the effort to get the manager plan with P. R. for Boston[1] has assumed impressive proportions.

An influential "Plan E for Boston Committee," headed by George F. Oakes, has opened headquarters at 101 Tremont Street, with Liberty 1948 as its telephone number and also its slogan. The committee includes among its vice-chairmen Jacob J. Kaplan, president of the Boston Bar Association, Joseph K. Collins, former assistant attorney general, and Mrs. Andrew J. Peters, wife of the former mayor of Boston.

A bill which adapts the usual manager and P. R. provisions of "Plan E" to the special governmental arrangements of Boston, and would permit a vote on the plan's adoption this fall if requested by petition of 20,000 Boston voters (House Bill No. 364), was introduced in January by Representative Henry L. Shattuck of Boston, member of the council of the National Municipal League, on petition of Mr. Collins and other leaders of the Plan E committee. A similar bill was introduced last year by Speaker Frederick B. Willis which passed the House of Representatives but was defeated in the Senate.

This year's bill, which is also supported by Speaker Willis, has been made the subject of two-day public hearings both by the legislature's Committee on Cities and by the recently-appointed Boston charter commission. At one of these Mr. Hallett of this department, at the request of the Municipal Research Bureau, gave testimony on P. R. and answered questions from the charter commission for some three hours.

Other Cities Consider Plan E

Meanwhile a substantial movement for the standard Plan E provisions for the manager plan with P. R. is getting under way in Somerville, a city of 100,000 population next door to Cambridge, the pioneer P.R.–manager city in the state. The Plan E for Somerville Committee is headed by a group of young veterans, including five public school teachers. The chairman, Wallace E. Sinclair, is a former Navy communications officer and chairman of the local chapter of the American Veterans Committee. One of the other leaders is John C. Kelly, army veteran and junior high school teacher, who is commander of a local post of the American Legion.

Other Massachusetts cities considering putting Plan E adoptions on the ballot this fall include Fitchburg, Salem, Medford and Newton.

Saugus Approves but Loses

This year's Massachusetts legislature passed a special act sponsored by Speaker Frederick B. Willis for his home town of Saugus. Massachusetts towns, unlike cities, do not yet have the right to adopt P. R. and the town managers hitherto authorized have had very limited powers. Speaker Willis' bill, subject to approval of the town's

[1]See the REVIEW, *February* 1947, page 90.

voters, would have provided for a town manager in charge of the whole administration and chosen by a council of five elected by P. R. The manager would have appointed all the other administrative officers, including the currently elective tax collector and tree warden. In one respect the bill varied from standard practice: the manager would have been under contract for five years, removable only on serious charges.

The bill set up a very unusual and difficult hurdle in requiring not only a majority vote for adoption but participation in the election by a majority of the town's registered voters. The election was held on February 24 and resulted in a vote of 3,540 for adoption and 240 against, but the total vote for and against was 313 short of the required majority of registered voters. Opponents had naturally campaigned for abstentions rather than negative votes, but even if all the 1,478 ballots that were blank on this issue (there were seven other questions on the ballot) are considered the votes of opponents, there was still a two-to-one vote in favor of the plan.

The Saugus election was being watched with much interest in other towns. Last year a bill to make Plan E available for all towns by petition and popular vote was defeated in the Senate.

P. R. Bills in the New York Legislature

A constitutional amendment providing for a one-house legislature elected by proportional representation was introduced in the recently adjourned New York legislature by Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, chairman of the Senate Committee on Cities. The amendment was a revival of one introduced in the 1938 constitutional convention by Charles Poletti, later lieutenant governor and briefly governor of the state, and similar in its application of P. R. to an amendment introduced at that time for the State Senate by Edward Corsi, now state industrial commissioner. Senator Desmond's proposal called for districts based on the five boroughs in New York City and on State Supreme Court districts elsewhere, with a separate district for the part of the second judicial district outside New York City—Nassau and Suffolk Counties. The number elected from each district would be determined by a fixed quota of 60,000 applied in the same way that the quota of 75,000 is applied to the five boroughs in the P. R. elections of the New York City council. The bill was introduced for future consideration and no attempt was made to rally support for it at this session.

Another bill involving P. R. was introduced by Assemblyman Joseph Carlino of Long Beach. The Carlino bill, backed by the Citizens Unions of New York City and Long Beach, would have removed from the city home rule law a restriction requiring city charter commissions to submit P. R. as a separate question if it is included in their proposals. This restriction does not prevent adoptions of P. R. but forces those who wish to combine it in a single question with the manager plan or other changes, as is often desirable, to use the petition method of submission instead of a charter commission. The petition method was used successfully in Yonkers and Long Beach.

P. R. Proposed for Baltimore

The Citizens League of Baltimore is conducting a campaign for 10,000 signatures to a petition for a referendum at the May election on a proposal to provide proportional representation for the city council. The campaign has the endorsement of the Better Baltimore Committee and cooperating civic or-

ganizations, reports the *Baltimore Sun*. The proposal would establish a city council of twelve members elected at large by P. R.

"What we have in the way of a city council is something less than we ought to have," declared Dr. C. L. Winslow, president of the Citizens League, who said the present council "is unrepresentative from a geographical standpoint and maintains a one-party system to which we object in such countries as Germany and Russia." The proposed plan "will correct this unrepresentation," he said, and open the way for "higher capacity men and women" to seek election to the council.

Forum Magazine Publishes P. R. Articles

A series of three articles reviewing the general subject of proportional representation, by the editors of this department, is appearing in the magazine *Forum*. The first two appeared in January and February and the third is expected to appear in April.

The first, "How Democratic Are Our Democratic Systems?", explains the shortcomings of other methods of representation in democratic government and shows how proportional representation is intended to provide a remedy for some of those difficulties. Both the Hare system, best known to the English-speaking world, and the list system, used in various forms in continental Europe, are described.

The second article is entitled "Proportional Representation Works!" and covers a review of experience with proportional representation in this country and abroad up to the present time. The third discusses some of the principal arguments which arise when the introduction of proportional representation becomes the subject of a political contest.

P. R. Figures in Berlin Impasse

Insistence of Major General Alexander Kotikov, Soviet representative in the Allied Kommandatura in Berlin, upon disproportionate representation of certain groups produced a grave impasse which appeared to block the election of new officials of the so-called Free German Trade Union to replace officials whose terms were about to expire, according to dispatches published in the *New York Times* on February 1 and 2. American, British and French representatives in the Kammandatura sought to establish a compromise proposal in which delegates at large forming a major part of the central committee of the union would be elected by proportional representation.

This dispute was the occasion of the Soviet member taking the unprecedented step of carrying his quarrel before the German public by printing in a Russian-controlled German paper a statement personally denouncing three United States officials and ascribing the entire United States attitude to the American Federation of Labor. Major General Frank A. Keating, U. S. representative on the Kommandatura, assailed General Kotikov's action as contrary to an Allied Control Council law and stated that the charges published in the German press were unfounded and false. The gravity of this dispute indicates the importance of the choice of electoral machinery; both sides appreciated that this choice would greatly influence and probably settle the over-all election result.

Bremen Seeks Use of P. R.

The recent organization of the Bremen area as a *Land* (state) in the

(Continued on page 226)

County and Township . . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Home Rule Passes Washington Legislature

Popular Referendum on Act Scheduled for 1948

THE Washington state legislature has passed the proposed constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties. It will be submitted to the electorate in 1948 for final adoption. When introduced the amendment applied only to counties of 100,000 and more population — King (Seattle), Pierce, and Spokane Counties—but it was amended in committee in the Senate to apply to all counties throughout the state.

Another proposed constitutional amendment which has passed both houses would separate Seattle and King County and establish a city-county government for the Seattle area. This too will appear on the 1948 ballot.

The Seattle Municipal News, published by the Municipal League of Seattle, comments that the home rule proposal offers "opportunity for King County to establish one of the most modern county governments in the United States."

Listed as some of the major improvements which can be incorporated in a new county charter by an elected charter commission are: county manager, county mayor or county commission form of government, nonpartisan elections, civil service, appointment of some officials now elected, segregation of scattered county services into a few departments with responsible heads, adoption of strong budget procedure, etc.

The organization has been conducting a series of forums on the needs of the county with the idea that prompt study of the legislature's action should be initiated.

McMinn County Granted Manager Plan

The bill providing the manager plan of government for McMinn County, Tennessee, described in this department last month (page 169), has now become law. The act named the members of the first council to choose the first manager and took effect immediately.

Counties Interested in Manager Plan

Additional counties and townships are making progress toward adoption of the manager plan. Recent developments include:

1. At the recent general election Florida adopted a constitutional amendment permitting Orange County (Orlando) to reorganize its government. A Citizens Steering Committee has been appointed and major consideration is being given to the adoption of the manager plan.

2. A citizen group in Chesterfield County, Virginia, is initiating a series of mass meetings to explain the county manager form of government.

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia has prepared several leaflets for the use of citizen groups in Virginia interested in securing adoption of the manager plan for their home counties. The leaflets are entitled, *What Would a Manager Government Mean for Your County?* and *County Manager Quiz.*

3. A bill has been introduced in the Michigan state legislature permitting townships to vote on the question of incorporating as chartered municipal corporations. The governing board of

an incorporated township would be empowered to appoint a township superintendent who would have powers comparable to those of a county manager.

Governmental Proposals for Small Missouri Counties

Legislation recently introduced in the General Assembly of Missouri provides three forms of government for small counties—the so-called county clerk form, the commission form and the consolidated office form. "These simple forms of government should prove a boon to many fourth class counties," says *Your Tax Money*, published by the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, "which are not sufficiently wealthy to support the large structure of the prevailing form."

In another of its publications, its third annual compilation of rural county budgets, the Survey stressed the need for making simpler, less expensive forms of government available to counties of low assessed valuation.

Home of Mighty Atom Fears Perils of Firecracker

Anderson County, Tennessee, home of the Oak Ridge atom bomb project, has enacted a local law making it illegal to manufacture, sell or use firecrackers in the county.

New Hampshire Studies County Government

The New Hampshire Interim Committee on County Government, appointed by the governor a year and a half ago, recently recommended several major changes in county functions and procedures. They included:

1. The committee's study of state, county, city and town relief agencies revealed "bewildering complications due to the overlapping, conflicting and sometimes competitive activities of uncoordinated agencies and considerable duplication of effort and cost of administration. . . . Members of a single family may need from one to eight of the services now rendered and under the present plan may have to go from one agency to another to get the assistance for which they are eligible. This situation reacts unfavorably on applicants, adds materially to the cost of administration, and reduces the efficiency of administration. . . . It is obvious that little uniformity can be expected in the relief services for which the separate counties, cities and towns (townships) are independently responsible." It recommended integration of all welfare activities and clear allocation of such activities to the several levels of government.

2. It was discovered that sheriffs and deputies were paid ten cents a mile for use of their cars and twenty cents a mile when transporting prisoners. The committee recommended that the prevailing rate of five cents a mile should apply to them also.

3. It recommended that sheriffs and their deputies be compensated by annual salary rather than on a fee basis.

4. It proposed that towns and cities, after paying their normal share of fixed charges on county institutions, should contribute to meet other costs in direct proportion to the extent to which they use such institutions.

5. It criticized the antiquated methods of preserving records and suggested that microfilm or similar processes be considered.

6. During the course of its study the committee issued an 85-page county officials handbook consisting of constitutional and statutory provisions relating to county officials and their duties.

7. It recommended further study of the question of extension, consolidation and elimination of county insti-

tutions by the appointment of a second interim committee.

Texas Counties Face Legal Difficulties

The attorney general of Texas, in an official ruling, has held that legislation providing centralized purchasing in counties with populations between 100,000 and 150,000 persons is unconstitutional because it violates the provision prohibiting the legislature from passing any local or special law regulating the affairs of counties. On the other hand, a district court has ruled that the use of automatic voting machines by Dallas, Bexar and Gregg Counties is constitutional.

Texas County Association Backs Employee Aid

Among the resolutions adopted by the recent annual convention of the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas were the following:

1. That a plan, optional with the counties, be adopted by state legislation providing workmen's compensation and public liability for county employees to protect them in case of injury or death;

2. That any county, upon referendum, be permitted to establish a library; and

3. That a law be enacted forbidding the legislature from levying any obligation upon a county without providing the additional revenue to pay for it.

Wisconsin Bill Seeks Repeal of County Uniformity

A proposed constitutional amendment before the Wisconsin legislature would remove the requirement of uniformity for Wisconsin county government. It would permit the legislature to set up optional systems of county government and provides that such systems be adopted by popular initiative and vote.

Other county bills would abolish the fee system for elective officials, provide for the coordination of county fiscal duties, welfare activities, and centralized purchasing under single officials, and the appointment of a committee to study, revise and codify all county government laws. They have been introduced by the Joint Interim Committee to Study County Government appointed by action of the 1945 Wisconsin legislature.[1]

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 223)

United States zone of Germany is expected to result in its adoption of a system of proportional representation such as those used in the other states of the American Zone. Heretofore the improvised hybrid system of the British zone has been in force, with the result that one party—Socialist Democratic—has 51 out of 80 seats in the local parliament though it cast only 47 per cent of the popular vote. The American occupation forces will let the people of the area have any democratic form of election they wish, and the Social Democrats, though they stand to lose by the change, have already declared for P. R. The other parties are expected to agree.

The other states in the U. S. zone use a list system of proportional representation based on that used in Germany from 1919 to 1933. In Wuerttemberg-Baden certain modifications along the lines of the Swiss system have been introduced, in order to permit some expression of preference in favor of individual candidates in addition to voting for a party list.

[1]See the REVIEW, July 1946, page 376.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Local Payrolls Going Up

Some Cities Adjusting Wages to U. S. Cost-of-living Index

STRIKES and threatened strikes by public school teachers in several score American communities since last autumn, with higher pay the central issue in each case, focus attention on one of the major features of local government today—rising payrolls.

The problem is not confined to the schools. Indeed, the wave of teachers' strikes during the winter may be an indication that the local school districts have been generally slower than city governments to make salary and wage adjustments in recent years.

In any event, the period since the end of the war has seen strikes or threatened strikes by local public employees in nearly every classification, including firemen and policemen, garbage disposal workers, transit system workers, and water works employees. In some cases the strike talk has been part of an effort to secure for one group of public employees raises previously granted to others; in other cases strikes or threats by individual groups have led to general increases.

In general, wage and salary increases for local government employees began fairly early in the war, and in some instances represented merely the final restoration to predepression levels of pay schedules slashed during the early 1930's. In city governments the cost-of-living bonus found early acceptance as an expedient to meet war-inflated living costs. Some of these bonuses were additions of a flat sum to the monthly or hourly rate of each employee, in others a percentage increase was applied. Frequently the percentage increase was limited to the first one, two or three thousand dollars of annual salary, and in a few cases a sliding scale was used, with higher-bracket employees receiving proportionally smaller increases.

A considerable number of cities followed the example of St. Paul, Minnesota, which since 1922 has adjusted pay rates to the movement of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index. Most of these schemes disregard minor fluctuations in the index, make the adjustment annually, and apply to all employees a dollar increment derived from the use of a base rate generally between $100 and $150 per month. Among the larger cities adopting the cost of living index method are Milwaukee, Portland, Oregon, San Diego, Columbus (for a time) and Duluth. In some cases state indexes are used.

In addition to the temporary bonuses to offset inflated prices, numerous localities have undertaken a complete revision of their payroll scales and job classifications. San Diego, for example, had used the index method more or less regularly since 1933 in fixing annual salary schedules, but in 1943 began a reclassification of positions and restudy of pay rates which led to increased rates of about 10 per cent. Salary levels in that city are now 55 per cent to 60 per cent above 1940.

Some increases have been forced by state action. At the general election last November California voters enacted a constitutional amendment considerably increasing state aid for schools and providing a minimum salary for teachers in the public school system of $2,400 per annum. This "floor" under teachers salaries un-

doubtedly has been in the minds of teachers groups in many communities where strikes or strike talk has been evident during the winter, and is clearly reflected in the recommendation of a New York State committee of inquiry which recommended to Governor Dewey a minimum of $2,500 in New York City schools and of $2,000 in the smaller communities.

Michigan Sells Bonus Bonds, Faces Deficit

First of the large issues of state soldiers' bonus bonds was marketed early in March, when the state of Michigan sold $200,000,000 of the $270,000,000 bonus bonds authorized by its voters at the November 1946 election. The bonds were set up as serials due in one to eighteen years and were sold as 1½'s at a premium making the net interest cost approximately 1.47 per cent. The state had been without any direct bonded debt since 1944.

The sale attracted wide attention, for it was the largest issue of state or municipal bonds ever to be offered. Less attention was centered on the state's proposed budget for 1947-48, which revealed that the so-called sales tax amendment adopted last November—which provided for distribution of the state sales tax to the cities and counties on a new and generous basis—leaves the state without sufficient revenue to balance its own budget. The governor's budget showed an anticipated deficit of $83,000,000.

Repeal of the sales tax amendment is being submitted to the voters in April, and other proposals under discussion include a reallocation of existing revenues between state and local governments, and readjustment of responsibility for the financing of some functions, either to decrease state aid subject to legislative control or decrease state expenditures. Return to a state ad valorem property tax has also been considered.

Oregon Legislates Sales, Income Tax Provisions

Early in the Oregon legislative session, Representative Hill introduced a sales tax bill which provided an overall limit of 40 mills on property taxes, and a $5,000 increase in the present exemption under the state income tax. The House Assessment and Taxation Committee, however, has prepared a substitute program which has been introduced as two bills. One would impose a 3 per cent sales tax with foods and certain other necessities exempted, and would provide that 1/6 of the proceeds be distributed to school districts, 1/6 to counties, and 1/6 to cities. The 40-mill limit has been omitted since the committee was unable to find formula for its operation.

A companion measure would increase personal exemption under the income tax from $750 to $1,500 for single persons, and from $1,500 to $2,500 for married couples. The most authoritative estimate maintains that the sales tax would yield $20,000,000 per year and that the proposed exemption would reduce the tax revenue about $7,000,000—a net gain to the state of only about $3,000,000 after allocations to local units.

The bill provides for a referendum by the people in November 1947. The sales tax on previous occasions has been disapproved by Oregon voters four times. The highest favorable vote at previous elections was 30 per cent.

HERMAN KEHRLI
University of Oregon

Would Prohibit Local Income Taxes

Municipal income taxes, which have been an outstanding boon to the municipal coffers of Philadelphia and To-

ledo, and have been studied increasingly by other cities, would be prohibited to Wisconsin cities under a bill (No. 3s) passed by the legislature and thought likely to be signed by the new governor.

Milwaukee, Madison and other Wisconsin cities have had city income taxes under consideration in recent months.

Under attack also is St. Louis' city income tax, enacted last summer at a rate of ½ of 1 per cent on individual and corporate income, which has been held unconstitutional by the Circuit Court. It is reported that the city will appeal.

MFOA to Meet in New York City

The annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada will be held in New York City May 26-29.

New York City's Budget Problem

The prospective New York City budget for 1947-48 has been estimated at $800,000,000 to $819,000,000 by official and unofficial sources. The same sources in the very next breath state that the city's budget will press the one billion mark. Both figures are reasonably accurate.

In discussions dealing with the budget, different segments are treated and discussed as "budgets." Thus we have a "tax levy budget," an "expense budget" and a "total budget."

Most taxpayer interest centers in the tax levy budget. This is nothing more than a segment of the city's budget, made up of several parts. The tax levy itself is the amount of taxes levied on real property for its share of the cost of city government. This is made up of the levy for debt service for which unlimited taxes can be collected and the levy for operations limited to 2 per cent of the average assessed valuations for five years. The other item making up the tax levy budget is the general fund. This by no means fits the generally accepted definition accorded the term in the field of municipal finance. It is rather a catch-all made up of water charges, state-allocation of $6.75 per capita which has replaced the former state-collected, locally-shared taxes, the city's own local tax program made up of the sales, pari-mutuel and gross business taxes etc., and miscellaneous and sundry departmental receipts. In addition, the general fund receives the cash carryover, if any, of the general fund of the preceding fiscal year.

The current budget cannot expend any more of the general fund revenues than the amount estimated as the general fund revenues by the city comptroller. All over the estimated amount is earmarked as the cash carryover of the general fund of the ensuing fiscal period. Though there may be a general fund surplus, as has been the case in recent years, the budget can also have a deficit which must be financed by deficiency borrowing. Thus in 1945-46, while the general fund had a surplus of about $36,000,000 which was the cash carryover for the general fund estimated for 1946-47, the budget operations showed temporary borrowings to the extent of $5,000,000 to cover deficiencies. This deficiency is redeemable from appropriations in the current budget.

These components, the tax levy on real estate for debt service and operations and the general fund, make up what is known as the tax levy budget and represents the $800,000,000 to $819,000,000, the figure so prominently featured in news stories.

The expense budget, as defined in the city charter, includes in addition

to the tax levy budget, the bulk of the supplementary revenues required by law to be earmarked into separate funds for specific purposes. This takes in such funds as state aid and federal aid for education, welfare, etc.

The city does not have a representative over-all budget. This is so because certain revenues are credited directly to some of the pension funds and only the direct net city contribution appears in the budget. Likewise certain services rendered by the city to independent agencies, capital budget, and special, trust and assessment funds are reimbursable and are not reflected in the expense budget but are reported by the city comptroller in his annual report.

The expense budget for 1947-48 is now being prepared. General fund revenues are estimated by the city comptroller for 1947-48 to be about $335,500,000. The sum required for debt service has been put at $160,000,000 to $168,500,000 by the city comptroller. The maximum that could be levied within the 2 per cent limit for operations will run from $320,000,000 to $321,000,000.[1] Last year the margin was under $320,000,000.

A limited rate levy of $320,000,000 plus $168,500,000 for debt service would tend to indicate a tax rate of approximately $2.95 as compared to the present basic rate of $2.70. (At the $2.70 rate the margin below the maximum 2 per cent limit was more than $50,000,000.) This, coupled with the estimated general fund revenue of $335,500,000, would yield about $823,500,000 from the tax levy budget sources. Thus the city should be in a position to balance its tax levy budget. And this within the framework of present available resources.

The O'Dwyer administration, despite its apparent ability to balance its tax levy budget, has asked the state for added state-aid funds to the extent of $102,000,000. The city request included the following: state assumption of the cost of financing the city's four colleges, an increase in the per capita state allocation to $10, a revision of the state aid for welfare formula, and a return to the city of the taxes that the city pioneered and developed as part of its emergency tax program for the financing of emergency relief in the mid-thirties: the cigarette tax, utility tax, bank tax, etc. Aids of this proportion would permit the city to avoid the considerable increase in the tax rate.

The state has countered with a proposal to authorize the cities, including New York City, to levy additional local excises which would yield an estimated $24,300,000 for New York City and a total of about $111,000,000 for all local units in New York State. Among the "new" taxes proposed for New York City are a 3 per cent sales tax on meals costing above a dollar, taxes of five dollars and ten dollars respectively on passenger cars and trucks, and a 5 per cent admissions tax.

David Lazar
Brooklyn College, New York

[1]The final assessed valuations for 1947-48 will not be ready until some time in May. On March 1, 1947, the tentative assessed valuations were put at $17,053,000,000 compared to the final figure of $15,908,000,000 for 1946-47. A $320,000,000 yield would mean a final assessed valuation of $16,323,000,000 for 1947-48. A $321,000,000 yield would mean an assessed valuation of $16,573,000,000.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Britain Proposes New Planning Measures

Bill Would Require Official Sanction for All Building

IN DECEMBER the Labor government introduced into the British Parliament its Town and County Planning Bill 1947, provisions of which would deprive landowners of the right to build "unless the building is in accordance with proper planning requirements" and impose a "development charge to cover any resulting increase in land values."

Important features of the bill are these: (1) local authorities must survey their area and prepare a plan within three years, this plan to be submitted to the minister of town and country planning for approval; (2) local authorities will have wider powers to carry out development themselves since they will no longer be confined to development which private enterprise will not undertake.

No future development may take place without permission and this permission will be governed by community interests. When permission to develop is refused no compensation will be given except in a limited number of cases. When development is permitted any resulting increase in land value is to be collected in whole or in part by the state as a development charge which must be paid or secured before the development is carried out.

Three hundred million pounds would be made available to compensate hardship cases of owners where the market value of their land will be depreciated because of the cancellation of development rights. Upwards of 15 per cent of British land owners will be affected by the bill.

The *White Paper* accompanying the bill states that it will set up a planning system which will make practicable the reconstruction and redevelopment of old towns, preservation of green belts and provide for open spaces in overcrowded areas. This has not been possible previously because of the rigid planning system which gives too much power to local authorities and insufficient power to the national government and because of the inflated compensation payments to landlords by local authorities.

Under the bill county officials would for the first time be given direct planning functions so that planning will be coordinated over a wider area than at present. Where regional planning needs overlap county boundaries, counties and county boroughs will be able to join together in joint planning boards.[1]

Local Government Revision Studied in South Africa

A report by a member of the Action Committee of the United Municipal Executive, on the revision of local government in South Africa, suggests that the following points must be taken into consideration in order to make local government efficient: (1) Local government must remain democratic; (2) local authorities must have adequate powers; (3) local authorities must have adequate resources to carry out their functions; (4) services must be administered uniformly in the local area; (5) standards of established services must be reasonably uniform;

[1]See *Municipal Review* (London,) January 1947, page 3; also *The American City*, February 1947, page 67.

and (6) the new local government structure must be elastic.

Principal defects of the local government system in the reporter's view are: (1) a high proportion of small authorities with inadequate population and financial resources to provide services required today; (2) public apathy toward local government; (3) inadequate methods of cooperation between municipalities; (4) repercussions upon the powers and duties of authorities produced by differences between rural and urban administration; (5) inadequate administrative boundaries; (6) overlapping and duplication of services between authorities; (7) inequality in standards of service; (8) undue influence of local vested interests; and (9) complexity of structure.

Central control has developed in the last few years to such an extent that local authorities for certain services have become little more than local agencies of administration for the central government. Local government has become patchy, illogical and complex and therefore more expensive than necessary. It fails to have fullest coordination between authorities and services and provides a wide variety in range and quality of these services.

Orange Free State Consolidation

A local government consolidation ordinance is being redrafted for consideration by the Orange Free State provincial council next year. An amendment to the present ordinance provides that the town councils may pay councillors annual allowances not exceeding 25 per cent of the allowance paid the mayor but does not compel a council to pay its members.

* * *

Harbor Boards Discuss Problems

A recent conference of the New Zealand Harbors Association discussed the problems which face local harbor boards. Financial difficulties have been encountered by the smaller boards because of diversion of shipping to larger ports. All boards are faced with the problem of depleted coastal shipping trade for which blame is put upon railroad competition. Government legislation has been suggested as an aid to solving the problem since New Zealand is a maritime country, dependent upon sea trade, and coastal shipping provides a way of training seamen.

* * *

New Zealand Retirement Law

A National Provident Fund Amendment has been passed in New Zealand on the retirement of government employees. Chief provision is that retirement rights may be transferred from one local authority to another. Employees have the right to decide whether or not to contribute to the plan.

* * *

Local Officials Unite

Recognizing that by working together they can provide better administration, the New Zealand Town Clerks Institute, the County Clerks Institute and the Electric Power Boards Secretaries Association have united to form the New Zealand Local Body Administrative Officers Association. Since at the present time no formal training is available for administrators, the institute's main objective is educational.

* * *

Greater Sydney Consolidation

The New South Wales government has proposed the substitution of eight municipalities for the present 61 municipalities and eight shires which make up the county of Cumberland, frequently referred to as Greater Sydney. The national government has indicated that it would defer introduction of a bill into Parliament until New South Wales has reached a unanimity of opinion on the proposal.

Books in Review

Our Fair City. Edited by Robert S, Allen. New York City, The Vanguard Press, 1947. viii, 387 pp. $3.50.

Here is a curious sort of new source book of American history and political science. It consists of candid close-ups of seventeen American cities—all the top-size ones and some of the smaller ones of special character or current interest like Memphis, Butte and Miami.

The story of each city is told by a local newspaperman who was evidently instructed by the compilers to dish up the dirt, don't worry about libel, give us the low-down, don't boost! So, in the manner of Sunday supplements, with overaccent on the dramatic and the unusual and underaccent on whatever sober, jog-trot wholesomeness may constitute the major volume of the facts, the writers have spiritedly washed and hung out the local linen to flap in the breeze.

Inevitably these vivid stories are suspect as colored by personal bias, political or economic, or by the editorial policy of the newspapers on which some of the authors serve. Few local characters are treated with complete respect—the cynicism of the hard-boiled reporter is a prevailing characteristic. Each local author seems anxious to prove that none of the local bigwigs fool him and, of course, each account is a story which no other individual in town would probably perceive or write in just the same way Local repercussions will be lively! Social facts are not in the realm of the exact sciences anyway!

My respect for the book grew as I read. Some of the individual stories are surely superficial, oversimplified, inexact; but taken together they constitute a telling mass of testimony as to the economic and political inwardness of our municipal scenes as of 1946 when they were written. The symposium gives us current America in the raw, a ghastly dash of truth, yet not too bad if we can remember that the masses who live wholesomely, pay their debts and taxes, help their neighbors, and die unsung, are left out of these pictures on the same principle that causes them to be left out of the daily news.

The publisher's blurb likens the book to Lincoln Steffens' *Shame of the Cities* of a generation ago—a hazardous comparison to invite, and unnecessary! This book has its own original merits—it did not exhume facts that are new to local newspaper readers and it did not call for any of Steffens' courage to sponsor it. Its value is rather photographic, showing good, bad and indifferent.

To the reformer it shows the folly of looking for a condition of repose anywhere! The American city is a tangle of squirming earthworms, never static, always fiercely active and full of successive tensions and stresses. American cities are factories, not graveyards, and their clangor and grime are inevitable elements of the noble discontent which is the mother of progress. The volume as a whole I rate as sound history although packed with disputable and unprovable detail.

Incidentally, the council-manager plan fares well in the accounts from the cities which have it. It is improperly slighted and inaccurately slurred in the Kansas City story but in the chapters on Miami and Cleveland the references are favorable and the Boston story includes the following terse bouquet for Cambridge next door:

"Present hopes for reform in Boston rest in a weakly led but possibly pro-

phetic move to change the city charter to the proportional representation—city manager plan, which has proved so successful in adjoining Cambridge. Forced by corruption, extravagance and squalid conditions, Cambridge adopted its 'Plan E' charter four years ago, just as its last old-era mayor was going to jail. James M. Landis, in off moments between jobs in Washington and running the Harvard Law School, brain-powered the revolution. The tax rate was cut ten dollars per thousand in three years, the debt by six million, the budget by one and a half million, while city services became decently adequate and the pay of municipal employees was raised until they became among the highest paid in the state.

"It will be hard for even the inertia of Boston to resist this obvious recipe for sensible city management."

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Capital Gains Taxation. Panel discussion by Thomas N. Tarleau, chairman, Franklin Cole, Harold M. Groves, George O. May, Harry J. Rudick, Beardsley Ruml, Eustace Seligman, Lawrence H. Seltzer and Carl Shoup. New York City, Tax Institute, 1946. ix, 106 pp. $3.

Last October, in New York City, the Tax Institute sponsored the first of a projected series of round-table discussions on pertinent phases of tax policy. The occasion was something of an experiment, in that a small, representative body of expert participants was invited to take part under conditions which it was hoped would eliminate or minimize the haste, confusion and ineffectualness which have come to accompany so many "forum" sessions. That the experiment was highly successful is evident from this volume, which makes the text of the discussion generally available for the first time.

Capital gains taxation, although not perhaps of such widespread interest as some other taxation topics, was an admirable choice for the institute's experimental discussion, for it posed within a limited specialized field complex problems of both a theoretical and practical nature which touch widely scattered phases of the national economy. Further, the choice of participants was a particularly happy one, and the distinguished panel has managed to get into its record a discussion of the major principles in the field of capital gains taxation and a wealth of controversial detail. Layman and tax student alike will find the discussion both informative and stimulating.

The dialogue between the panel members is supplemented by a three and one-half page bibliography containing sixty-odd references to the literature on capital gains taxes, and there is a short but useful topical index. While the dialogues run more or less conversationally from the initial statements of the participants, it has been possible without undue forcing of the natural sequence to divide the text into chapters and sections, this feature giving rise to a rather comprehensive table of contents. All in all, the discussion and its manner of publication set a high standard for the panel procedure and offer real encouragement that the sometimes hackneyed round-table device may be restored to real usefulness.

WADE S. SMITH

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Agriculture

Dare Farmers Risk Abundance? An Agriculture Committee Report. Wash-

ington 6, D. C., National Planning Committee, 1947. v, 53 pp. 25 cents.

Civil Service

Problems of Readjustment. Annual Report for 1946. New York 18, National Civil Service League, 1946. 12 pp.

Directories

Kansas Governmental Guide. I: Agencies Offering Services to State and Local Governments; II: Subject Index of Information and Services Available. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1947. vi, 151 pp. $5.

Social Work Year Book 1947 (ninth edition). Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. Part I: An Authoritative Record of Organized Activities; Part II: A Directory of 539 National Agencies in Social Work and Related Fields. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 714 pp. $3.50.

Highways

Urban Freeways. By Committee on Urban Transportation, American Institute of Planners. New York, American Transit Association, 1947. 36 pp. Illus.

Housing

The Emergency in Housing—New York State Acts to Meet the Crisis. By Herman T. Stichman. Albany, New York State Division of Housing, 1946. 42 pp. Illus.

The Function of Government as an Aid to Private Builders. Functions of Government and Builders in Neighborhood Planning. Addresses by Herman T. Stichman. Albany, Commissioner of Housing, 1946. 13 and 12 pp. respectively.

Industry

Youngstown Offers Industry Opportunity. An interpretation of basic economic factors which attract and support local industry. By Herbert S. Swan. Youngstown, Ohio, The Greater Youngstown Area Foundation, 1947. 96 pp. Illus.

Intergovernmental Relations

Provincial-Municipal Relations in British Columbia. Report of Commissioner H. Carl Goldenburg. Victoria, B. C., Legislative Assembly, 1947. x, 190 pp.

Public Utilities

The History and Operations of The Omaha Public Power District. By J. M. Harding. Address before The Municipal Forum of New York. 14 pp. 50 cents. (Apply to John A. Keane, Chairman, Subcommittee on Distribution, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Public Works

Report on Plan Preparation of State and Local Public Works, December 31, 1946. Washington, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community Facilities, 1947. 77 pp.

Race Relations

The Problem of Violence. Observations on Race Conflict in Los Angeles. By Lloyd H. Fisher. Chicago 1, American Council on Race Relations, 1947. 20 pp. 25 cents.

Slum Clearance

What Detroit's Slums Cost Its Taxpayers. A series of articles from the *Detroit News.* By James Sweinhart. Detroit, *The News,* 1946. 30 pp.

Social Security

Relief and Social Security. By Lewis Meriam. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1946. xx, 912 pp. $5.

A Summary of the Publication Relief and Social Security. By Lewis Meriam. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1946. 42 pp. 50 cents.

Stream Pollution

Report of the Cleveland City Council Committee on Stream Pollution. Cleveland, City Council, 1946. 43 pp.

Street Lighting

Evidence on America's Fatal Streets. New York, Street and Traffic Safety Lighting Bureau, 1947. 12 pp. Illus.

Subdivision

A Check List for the Review of Local Subdivision Controls. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1947. 43 pp.

APR 25 1947

Taxation and Finance

The Bard Tax Plan. To Relieve Tax Discrimination Against Proprietorship and Partnership. A Proposed Amendment to the Revenue Code. By F. N. Bard. Chicago, 1947. (Apply Author, 1801 Winnemac Avenue, Chicago 40.)

A Fourteen Year Comparison (1933-1946) of Prices and Yields of State and Municipal Bonds (13th edition). New York 15, Chemical Bank & Trust Company, 1947. 8 pp.

Income Tax Law and Regulations. Frankfort, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Department of Revenue, 1946. 186 pp.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1945 (Preliminary). (The Cities Covered Are Those Having 1940 Populations over 25,000.) By Jacob M. Jaffe. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 11 pp.

Tax Ordinance of the City of Columbus, Georgia, 1947. Columbus, The City Manager, 1947. 36 pp.

Winston-Salem—An Analysis of City Finances. By Clarence Heer. Winston-Salem, North Carolina, *Twin City Sentinel*, 1947. 42 pp.

War

War and Human Nature. By Sylvanus M. Duvall. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1947. 31 pp. 10 cents.

War Memorials

Community Centers as Living War Memorials. A Selected Bibliography with Interpretative Comments. By James Dahir. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. 63 pp. Fifty cents.

LOCAL PRESS AS CIVIC FORCE

(Continued from page 188)

faulters too—the *Herald Statesman* began turning its searchlight upon the Compromise and Settlement Board's activities and reporting them in full.

The administration today is collecting 100 cents on the dollar on liens plus 100 per cent of the accrued interest. It's a refreshing improvement!

I refuse to accept the theory, so often advanced by exponents of political patronage, that reporting of civic scandal by the local newspaper is "bad publicity" for the town and therefore should be avoided.

No community is so fragile that it can be crushed by diagnosis and report of its civic ills. It is always healthy to give the people all the facts possible. They will find their way all right, without misfortune—except possibly misfortune for the malefactors.

But the voice of the local newspaper and of the local civic group must be clear. Too often it is whispered or blurry. A good newspaper always keeps trying to clear up the line, so readers can get the correct story—hear and see it in simple word and vivid picture. Then the public has a voice—a newspaper voice and a citizen voice. What a duet that makes!

The would-be political grafters—and they flourish in all political climates—are scared to death of the honest local newspaper and of these civic warriors who are good government's first line of defense.

It is the local newspaper's opportunity to rededicate itself each day—body, mind and spirit—"to the right that needs assistance, against the wrong that needs resistance, to the future in the distance, and the good that we may do."